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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Ukraine Stance on START Treaty Criticized *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
U.S. Role in Hampered Space Deals Probed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Apr]* 2
Minister Rules Out Internecine Nuclear War *[ITAR-TASS]* 3
Krasnoyarsk Radar Station Dismantling Suspended *[INTERFAX]* 3
Atomic Veteran Reflects on Past, Future *[PRAVDA 16 Apr]* 3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Council of Afghan War Veterans' Affairs Meets *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Taiwan Foreign Minister on Ties With CIS *[IZVESTIYA 16 Apr]* 6
Ambassador on South Korea's Interest in Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Over 1 Million Jews Ready To Immigrate to Israel *[ITAR-TASS]* 8

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Military

Crimea May Play Important Role in Fleet Talks *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Apr]* 9
Kasatonov Says Ukraine Has Right To Own Fleet *[Moscow TV]* 9
Further on Caspian Flotilla Protocol *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Apr]* 10

Commonwealth

Meeting of Central Asian Presidents Previewed *[Moscow Radio]* 10
Trade Unions Sign Agreement on Reorganization *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Former USSR Prime Minister Ryzhkov Interviewed *[Russian TV]* 11

Media

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Apr 13

RUSSIA

International Affairs

Black Sea Fleet Talks To Begin 29 Apr *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Further on Talks *[INTERFAX]* 15
Shakhray, Dubinin Cited *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 21 Apr]* 15
Talks Seen as 'Lengthy and Difficult' *[IZVESTIYA 22 Apr]* 16
Commentary on Talks *[Moscow International]* 17
Libya Ordered To Reduce Diplomatic Staff *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
'Difficult' Polish Talks on Withdrawal Held *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Apr]* 17
Sides Compromise *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Kozyrev, Spanish Counterpart Discuss Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Khasbulatov Briefs Fernandez-Ordonez *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Afghans Pledge No Attacks on Foreign Missions *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Plans To Suspend Yugoslavia Relations Opposed *[Moscow International]* 19
Consultations With Canada on Yeltsin's Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 19

Gorbachev Rejects U.S. as 'Head of the World' *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Gorbachev May Return To Politics in Future *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Congress of Russian Germans Scheduled 29-30 May *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
U.S. Invites Navy To Join Red Sea Patrols *[INTERFAX]* 20
Western Countries' Aid Package Outlined *[IZVESTIYA 20 Apr]* 20
Motivations Examined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Apr]* 21
'Hard Line' Toward CIS States Criticized *[KURANTY 22 Apr]* 22

Federation Affairs

Shakhray To Head Black Sea Fleet Delegation *[Moscow TV]* 23
Gaydar Reviews Resignation Attempt, Declaration *[IZVESTIYA 18 Apr]* 23
Republican Parliamentary Leaders Discuss Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Poltoranin on Endurance of 'Fourth Power' *[Russian TV]* 24
'Civilized Coup' Attempt Collapsed *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Faction Calls For Poltoranin's Dismissal *[INTERFAX]* 25
Army Functions Viewed in Political Context *[Russian TV]* 25
Social Protection for Troops Encouraged *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Church Role Eyed in Solving Regional Conflicts *[INTERFAX]* 27
Satellite Launch, Yeltsin Visit Postponed *[ITAR-TASS]* 27

Supreme Soviet

Disagreement With Yeltsin Decree on Wages Cited *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Law on Pension, Wages Passed *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Commission Sees Rallies Ban Unnecessary *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Supreme Soviet In Recess Until Mid-May *[ITAR-TASS]* 28

Regional Affairs

Suspected Chechen Coup Supporters Removed *[INTERFAX]* 29
Dudayev 'Will Meet Force With Force' *[Madrid ABC 12 Apr]* 29
Possible Emergence of Pan-Caucasian Bloc Eyed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 21 Apr]* 30
Tatarstan Public Prosecutor Warns 'Ittifak' *[INTERFAX]* 30
Tatarstan Talks With Russia Proposed *[INTERFAX]* 30
Yakut President Cited on Economic Development *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Apr]* 31
Tula Proposes To Offer Gorbachev Post *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
Vologda Workers Demand Higher Meat Prices *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 15 Apr]* 31
Jewish Oblast Farmers Arm Themselves *[IZVESTIYA 15 Apr]* 31

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Delegation Departs for Black Sea Fleet Talks *[Kiev International]* 32
Foreign Ministry Urges Dniester Cease-Fire *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
Deputy Minister Lists Diplomatic Priorities *[Kiev International]* 32
Plyushch Receives Visiting Australian Delegation *[Kiev International]* 32
Kravchuk Meets Delegation *[ITAR-TASS]* 32

National Affairs

Kravchuk's Appeal on Crimean Question 'Unique' *[IZVESTIYA 22 Apr]* 33
Kravchuk 'Threatened the Whip' *[Radio Rossii]* 33
Deputy Defense Minister Bizhan Interviewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Apr]* 34
Horyn To Give Up Cochairmanship of Rukh *[Kiev International]* 35
Further on Security Service News Conference *[UKRINFORM]* 35
Chernobyl Officials View Closure as 'Hasty' *[ITAR-TASS]* 36
Chernobyl Issues Analyzed *[Kiev International]* 36

WESTERN REGION

Moldova

Snegur Message to Russian Sixth Congress *[INTERFAX]* 38
Dniester Cease-Fire Remains Unimplemented *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Apr]* 38
Dniester Region Vice President Interviewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 21 Apr]* 39
Police, Guards Move Back From Conflict Areas *[ITAR-TASS]* 39
Moldova, Dniester Seek To Retain Officers *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Apr]* 40
Smirnov Invites Officers To Join Dniester Forces *[IZVESTIYA 22 Apr]* 41

CENTRAL ASIA

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Adviser Optimistic About Bishkek Meeting *[INTERFAX]* 42
Decree Eases Russian Trade Restrictions *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Apr]* 42
President Enacts Resolution on Agrarian Reform *[INTERFAX]* 42

Tajikistan

President Ill, Absent From Bishkek Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* 43
Opposition Continues Demonstrations in Dushanbe 43
Parliament 'To Consider' Demands *[INTERFAX]* 43
Protesters Surround Parliament *[Moscow TV]* 43
Hostages Taken; Speaker Resigns *[ITAR-TASS]* 43

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan: Opposition 'Torpedoing' Government *[INTERFAX]* 45
Further on Remarks *[INTERFAX]* 45
Azerbaijani Forces Seize Air Defense System *[Yerevan Radio]* 45
Fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh Reported *[Yerevan Radio]* 45
Shelling Continues *[Moscow Radio]* 46
Karabakh Not To Attend 24 Apr Kozyrev Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* 46
Ter-Petrosyan Meets Russian Businessmen *[IZVESTIYA 15 Apr]* 46

Azerbaijan

Forces Placed on Increased Combat Readiness *[Moscow TV]* 46
CIS Official Denies Reports on Deserters *[ITAR-TASS]* 46
'Tense Situation' Reported in Nagorno-Karabakh *[ITAR-TASS]* 46
Defense Ministry Updates Fighting, Casualties *[Baku Radio]* 47
EC To Grant Nagorno-Karabakh Humanitarian Aid *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
U.S. Oil Company Sends Medical Aid to Baku *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
Friendship Society Renamed International Center *[Baku Radio]* 48

Georgia

State Council Statement on Human Rights *[INTERFAX]* 48
Violence Escalates in South Ossetian Republic *[Moscow Radio]* 48
Casualties Reported *[INTERFAX]* 48
Mkhedrioni Paramilitary Group To Disband *[Moscow TV]* 49
Spanish Daily Interviews Gamsakhurdia *[Madrid ABC 12 Apr]* 49
NDP's Chanturiya on Party's Activity *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 31 Mar]* 50

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Trade Minister Resigns; New Minister Nominated *[Tallinn Radio]* 52
Labor Minister Interviewed on Employment Laws *[Tallinn Radio]* 52
Monetary Reform Committees Prepare for Exchange *[BALTFAX]* 52
Commission To Deal With Non-Citizen's Status *[BALTFAX]* 52

Latvia

Supreme Council Chairman Gorbunovs Interviewed *[Moscow TV]* 53

Lithuania

Ministers Express Disagreement With Vagnorius *[Vilnius Radio]* 54
Vagnorius Resignation Rumored *[INTERFAX]* 55
Ministers Comment on Statement *[Vilnius International]* 55
Decree on Government Staff Reduction Abolished *[Vilnius Radio]* 56
Landsbergis Notes Relations Changes With Russia *[Vilnius International]* 56

Libya Ordered To Reduce Diplomatic Staff

ITAR-TASS reports that the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the Libyan diplomatic mission in Moscow was notified that it is required "to reduce the number of diplomatic staff working in Moscow by six to seven" within two weeks. This was done in line with the UN sanctions implemented against Libya.

Black Sea Fleet Talks Rescheduled

The talks between Russia and Ukraine on the Black Sea Fleet, formerly set to begin in Odessa on 22 April, were postponed until 29 and 30 April, ITAR-TASS reports. According to Russian special envoy Yuriy Dubinin, the talks were rescheduled "in order to allow the documents being submitted at the negotiations to be worked through more carefully" and noted that "there was no underlying political reason." Answering a question posed by INTERFAX, Dubinin said "the criteria for dividing the Black Sea Fleet needed to be specified." He asserted that the "talks will concentrate, as earlier agreed upon, on determining which part of the Black Sea Fleet will go to Ukraine."

Kravchuk Statement on Crimea Assessed

In a report on Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's statement on Crimea, IZVESTIYA, comments "It should be noted that L. Kravchuk has never before expressed such appeals to Crimeans. This document is unique both in terms of the precision with which it records the situation and in the severity of its assessments." Radio Rossii says, "Kravchuk is clearly striving to convince the people in Crimea that staying within the composition of Ukraine is beneficial first and foremost for them." Regarding Kravchuk's comments on economic relations, Radio Rossii states, "His words, if you wish, can be seen as a veiled threat to introduce economic sanctions against the disobedient Crimea." Thus, "The appearance of such a document demonstrates Ukraine's weakness in the Crimean question."

Lithuanian Ministers Issue Statement

Vilnius Radio reports that a statement signed by 10 members of the government concerning Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius was given to Vytautas Landsbergis. The statement consists of two issues. First, the statement proposed "that the session of the Supreme Council examine the different functions and responsibilities of the ministers and the prime minister." Second, "calling on the prime minister for cooperation, the ministers at the same time warned about their intention to raise the question of the possibility of joint work with Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius." This is seen as "the disagreement of the ministers with the policy of Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius" and "as a refusal to continue to work with him." INTERFAX suggests that "Vagnorius's resignation is its most probable outcome."

Tajik Speaker Resigns

ITAR-TASS reports that Safarali Kendzhayev, the Tajik Supreme Soviet speaker resigned on 22 April due to "pressure from the republic's opposition." On 21 April, in protest of the legislature's refusal to accept the speaker's resignation, the "opposition activists took several people's deputies hostage, demanding that the legislature review its decision." Currently, "the parliament has accepted most of the opposition's demands," including the speaker's resignation.

Chechen Coup Supporters Removed

INTERFAX reports Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev "has removed a number of security and internal affairs top-ranking officials" from their positions. The decree said that the deputy-minister for security, Groznyy Internal Affairs Department chief, and "a number of economic administrators are suspected of maintaining contacts" with the 31 March attempted coup organizers.

Ukraine Stance on START Treaty Criticized

LD2104153392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1516 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—The Ukrainian parliament and government must take a political decision to help unblock the current situation around negotiations on ratification of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

The treaty signed by the Soviet Union and the United States last year is bilateral, and Washington, Moscow and some other members of the CIS nuclear four call for the preservation of its character.

The Ukrainian stand is that the number of participants and sides to the treaty must be expanded and the bilateral treaty turned into multi-lateral. This is inadmissible from the Russian point of view, said Yastrzhembskiy, since it will annul all the work done on the elaboration of the 900-page treaty and undermine another document—the 1968 treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear arms.

The Russian Foreign Ministry official expressed the hope a political and diplomatic solution to this problem will be found.

U.S. Role in Hampered Space Deals Probed

PM2104145692 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 92 p 2

[Special correspondents S. Brilev and St. Kucher report, plus unattributed postscript: "How We Helped the United States To Economize on the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] Program"]

[Text] Washington and Moscow—Talks on the use in the United States of the Topaz-II nuclear reactor, developed at the Kurchatov Institute, began a few months ago. The reactor's capacity is insufficient even to light a few apartment blocks, but perfectly sufficient to power a spacecraft on a long interplanetary expedition—to Mars, for instance.

The Americans, incidentally, have been developing a small reactor of their own, though completion of work on this reactor is not envisaged before the next century.

Academician Nikolay Ponomarev-Stepnoy claimed at that time: It is a question only of **participation** by our specialists in the preparations for a flight to Mars; we do not intend to sell the reactor. Two months later it was sold.

These plans were revised only recently. At a news conference in the White House two high-ranking generals from the Pentagon (at the request of the president's assistant press secretary Laura Melillo we are unable to give their names) announced that the U.S. Air Force is buying Topaz-II for $7.5 million—apparently in order to help Russia. Congress and ex-President Ronald Reagan have more than once expressed the wish that the administration support the reforms in the former USSR more actively. The administration has even announced the lifting of the ban on trading in high technologies with the CIS states.

It is said that U.S. experts, traveling round the CIS countries, compiled a list of 3,000 items: Some technologies simply do not exist in the United States, and they are lagging significantly behind in the development of others.

Let us return, however, to Topaz: The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization has already requested permission to use the reactor in its program, which was so criticized by Soviet leaders only a few years ago. The Soviet Union usually demanded assurances from foreign partners to whom it sold space or nuclear technology and equipment that they would be used only for peaceful purposes. This is how Glavkosmos [Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research] acted, for example. Time softens principles, and anyway Topaz was sold without its participation.

Across the ocean they are so confident of the complete collapse of our space program that at a session of the House of Representatives it was stated that almost all Soviet space equipment and technology has been offered for sale at knockdown prices. "Knockdown" to such a degree that NASA could buy up not only the orbital space station Mir, but also Energiya....

"We do not intend to sell anything at knockdown prices," O. Firsyuk, deputy chief of Glavkosmos, assures us. "And there is no question at the moment of selling Mir. And in general there are lots of serious contradictions in our space relations with the Americans.

"The Americans began to develop the world space market in the late sixties. Communications satellites at once became the most expensive commodity, costing up to $200 million. Here, it is true, we were unable to compete with the Americans. The cost of producing and launching long-range space probes [sputniki distantsionnogo zondirovaniya] is considerably lower. It is also possible to make money out of materials technology and manned space flights...

"The Soviet Union was becoming a dangerous rival, it seemed. After the Challenger disaster, Shuttle flights and, consequently, the launch of satellites by them, were temporarily halted. The Europeans rushed into the market with their Ariane rocket. Suddenly we appeared on the scene also, with slightly lower prices. But things did not turn out as we expected. It turned out that first of all we had to obtain **a license from the Americans for the right to launch satellites on behalf of third countries.** The

law forbidding the export of space technology and facilities to the now ex-socialist countries continues to operate in the United States. And in virtually any satellite—British or French, Brazilian or Canadian—there is at least one American component, be it ever so small. This means that we do not have the right to launch these satellites without having obtained a license from the U.S. State Department.

"Right now we are competing for the launch of two South Korean communications satellites in which there are also American components. Glavkosmos has twice asked the State Department to issue a license—and both times has received a refusal.

"As a result we have lost about $3 billion in the last five years alone.

"The Americans are putting pressure on us to abandon certain joint projects involving the transfer of space technology to India, which has no desire to join the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

"Yet they themselves the other day offered India military satellites and modern aircraft in exchange for the right for U.S. military ships and submarines to put in at Indian ports..."

Incidentally

It is now apparent that we did not sell a working Topaz, but a display model. Having bought this for $7.5 million, the Pentagon, after carrying out tests on it, expects to obtain economic benefits to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars.

Minister Rules Out Internecine Nuclear War

LD2104104492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1011 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Moscow April 21 ITAR-TASS—Russian Minister for Atomic Energy Viktor Mikhailov ruled out the possibility of a "nuclear internecine war" breaking out on the territory of the former Soviet Union. He said in an interview with the TRUD newspaper published today: "Only twenty per cent of production facilities of our branch are located outside the borders of Russia, they are mainly mining and metallurgical enterprises. They are in no way directly related to the production of nuclear weapons". There are plans to sign agreements with CIS member-states to maintain production potential of these enterprises, he said. "I think CIS member-states will be interested in preserving production, technological and scientific ties. Without it no one of us can enter the Western market as partners with equal rights", the minister emphasised.

Speaking of the "brain drain" problem from the nuclear weapon complex, Viktor Mikhailov said: "No one has gone nowhere so far" and added that there exist some restrictions on travel abroad for nuclear scientists.

Recently appointed Minister Viktor Mikhailov is 58 years old. He is a specialist in theoretical physics. After graduation from the institute he was selected by Academician Andrey Sakharov for work in the secret city of Arzamas-16. Over the last few years Viktor Mikhailov directed the nuclear-weapon complex of the country.

Krasnoyarsk Radar Station Dismantling Suspended

OW1804223992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1552 GMT 18 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Krasnoyarsk regional administration Arkadiy Veprev ordered to suspend the dismantling of the Krasnoyarsk radar station. The decision was made after the administration received reply from the Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, [words indistinct] and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in which they pointed to the possibility of suspending the dismantling in the light of new relations between the USA and Russia. In Andrey Kozyrev's view, it would be possible to raise the question of preserving the radar station at the upcoming meeting between the Russian and U.S. presidents.

According to the Krasnoyarsk administration estimates, the remaining part of the radar station (60,000 square meters) can be used as wporkshops for the production of furniture, thus allowing the region to save 220 million rubles.

If the issue is resolved positively at the upcoming summit. Russia will save about 11 million rubles needed for the full dismantling of the radar station.

Atomic Veteran Reflects on Past, Future

PM2104154892 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 92 p 4

[Interview with Yevgeniy Negin, general and academician, by Vladimir Gubarev, datelined Arzamas-16 and Moscow; date not given: "Nuclear Sunset: Conversation with General and Academician Ye. Negin on Atomic Weapons—Their Past, Present, and Future"—first two and final two paragraphs are Gubarev introduction and postscript]

[Excerpts] Arzamas-16—Moscow— I first met with Yevgeniy Arkadyevich in the desert. We were unable to talk at the time: A furious gas gusher was making such a hell of a row that after a few minutes my ears were blocked and we could only communicate by gestures. [passage omitted]

But now I was greeted by not just General Yevgeniy Arkadyevich Negin, but Academician Negin. [passage omitted]

[Gubarev] Yevgeniy Arkadyevich, what do nuclear weapons mean to you?

[Negin] Don't expect a simple answer. On the one hand, I am very familiar with this area. At least the technical aspect of it. And I was working in it until the last day of my service. On the other hand, I appreciate that nuclear weapons are devices to which there is no alternative—in the sense of their effect upon the surrounding world. I appreciate that mankind is far from perfectly organized, that it has been divided, and remains divided today too, I think, into at least two camps (I don't what to call them now, but previously they were socialism and capitalism). We have still not entered into the kind of relationship with America that means we can embrace each other on every corner and disarm ourselves for all to see. So long as America has nuclear weapons, I think that we should have them too. And as I "made it" to where the weapons are produced, I consider it my duty to work with top efficiency. [passage omitted]

[Gubarev] What spheres of science has this technology stimulated, in your view?

[Negin] The most diverse spheres! First, medium-energy physics. It has made extraordinary progress. Then the theory of explosions and detonation. [passage omitted] Incidentally, a virtually new instrument-making industry has been created and it has matched world standards to date. Heavens, I forgot computing! I should have started with that...It cannot be said that a bomb is designed as such, because theoretical phycisists first have to do all the calculation and computations. Therefore the development of computers in our country came in the first instance from us...Incidentally, there were no machines here during the initial stage, the calculations were done manually.... However, we have always lagged behind the Americans in terms of the power and speed of computers.

[Gubarev] And in nuclear weapons in general?

[Negin] If there is a gap, it is a negligible one. And in some areas we are ahead....

[Gubarev] Don't secrets get stolen?

[Negin] It is not easy...Incidentally, there is a worldwide stir being raised: They say that a kilogram of enriched uranium-235 has been discovered somewhere. And they frighten everyone by saying that a bomb is being made! But you need 10-15 times that quantity of this uranium to have a bomb rather than mere playing around...It must be understood that our industry is extraordinarily sophisticated and costly, it demands incredible effort and a powerful industrial base.

[Gubarev] When did you first attend tests?

[Negin] It was in 1953...I had to travel to the test range. We sat down on a knoll. We put on dark glasses, and then heard "zero." My first impression was that I was looking at a furnace. It was 31 km away, but I clearly felt the heat on my face. It was my first impression of its power...Giant clouds then rose up, ascending to somewhere in the stratosphere....

[Gubarev] Was your interest purely professional?

[Negin] There's no escaping the emotion. Although, of course, you are waiting to see: Will it work, or not? Sometimes it didn't come off...There is professional satisfaction if the experiment works. That is natural.

[Gubarev] Did you often attend explosions?

[Negin] I attended virtually all the explosions carried out by our institute. I was the scientific leader at about half of them. So I have seen more than enough. In the latter half of my test activity I was able to determine the yield pretty accurately by eye, but for some reason I was never included on the list of physical instruments...However, talking about myself, and with complete seriousness, I do not regret having devoted my life—and I am now 72—to this problem. I think that we did put off World War III. For a long time or not—I don't know, but at least for the time that has elapsed. We managed to maintain parity in a pretty skillful way, and every time they (if you believe the newspapers, that is) decided on a nuclear attack, it was countermanded precisely because a new kind of weapon emerged in our country which rendered an attack disadvantageous or its success dubious...No one intends to attack us because of parity, but the situation could change if we lose it. And I have no certainty that this won't happen. Everyone says: "disarmament, disarmament, disarmament..." I am convinced that the Americans are not thinking about true disarmament. They realize that excessive weapons have been produced—so many weapons are not needed...To destroy 70 percent of America's industrial potential you need 500 missiles, 700 at most. And even fewer if they have multiple warheads...We should understand that we would not survive either! Even at this level war becomes senseless, because there will be no victor or vanquished. There are incomparably more weapons than this today, and consequently they must be reduced. But if we disarm unilaterally, we will be saying: "Come and get us, guys, we are lying on our backs with our legs in the air..." The Pentagon recently stated: Missiles are targeted on us and they stay targeted, they won't be turned away. I have the impression that they have not changed. That they have altered the terminology a little is another matter; they use different jargon, but inside they stay the same. It is no wonder that they are offering to dismantle our nuclear weapons....

[Gubarev] And why not take this up?

[Negin] Nonprofessionals are discussing nuclear weapons! In the Ukraine they are saying: We will construct a plant in the Chernobyl zone, first we will dismantle nuclear weapons there, and then we will reprocess waste materials. Bunkum, such nonsense! To dismantle weapons you need a machine plant, you need to turn nuts, while waste products require a chemical production unit. And they have nothing in common! When I read this, I swore, and threw the newspaper away....

[Gubarev] This most likely concerns the possesion of plutonium?

[Negin] It must be safeguarded. Why can't you store it in ordinary containers [banki], for example? You would

collect them all together and, if something goes awry, the whole lot of the plutonium would blow sky-high. In other words, we need special storage depots and containers. We have learned how to make them—and with complete safety. And we can even give the Americans a few tips...Now the process of disarmament has started up and such containers and storage facilities have to be made. But everything is upside down: First we bring the stuff in and collect it together, and only then do we start thinking about storing it.

[Gubarev] Can weapons be improved without tests?

[Negin] Certain hotheads seek to persuade us that they can—everything is computable. But that only applies if we repeat the past, duplicate things. But we won't create a single fundamentally new idea or make a single more reliable or safer weapon. The end of tests therefore essentially means the end of our activity.

A word or two about tests. I am convinced that they can be carried out absolutely safely. Again there have been attempts to make savings, that is to say, slightly smaller charges at a little less depth. We have begun working "at the limit." A gas escape did take place. Incidentally, the Americans paid in the same way. The gases instantly dispersed, there was no danger, but the fact is that there was an escape. It is simply necessary to work competently! We can work without tests, we can produce blueprints and shelve them, but everyone should understand that there will be no new weapons.

Do understand me correctly: I have no objection—let us destroy nuclear weapons, completely! But let us do it together—we and the Americans.

[Gubarev] The French, the British, and the Chinese will remain.

[Negin] What I mean is that we line them all up, compare them, and eliminate them. And we leave everyone with 50 or so weapons each for the sole purpose of letting any dictator or terrorist who appears know that weapons of retribution exist. [passage omitted]

[Gubarev] Do you not think that the weapons safety threshold is now being lowered? Particularly in connection with the processes now under way in the former Union?

[Gubarev] Of course, things are at their most tranquil when munitions lie idle. At the storage depot, for example. When no one touches them or even goes near them. When they are mounted in the warheads of disabled missiles, it is as if they do not exist...But now, at a time of mass shipments, at a time when there is a huge transport accident rate, the degree of safety is naturally falling. But not to the point where you need fear nuclear explosions or the theft of weapons. Military people understand responsibility...

[Gubarev] If a weapon were stolen, could the thieves set it off?

[Negin] It is extraordinarily difficult. Although, as you know, you can do anything with a hammer—out of stupidity, of course. But this would not be a nuclear explosion, but a conventional one. However, the plutonium contained in it is dangerous. It will fragment and partially evaporate and disperse. Plutonium contamination is a catastrophe on a par with Chernobyl...Our designers are now working specifically on ways to make it altogether impossible to detonate a weapon and spread plutonium. It may be a little worse from the military's standpoint, but the main thing is that it is far safer. In general, we are considering not just "idiot-proofing," but "hammer-proofing." I consider it very fortunate that we had Khariton as our scientific leader. Yuliy Borisovich always demanded that we know ten times more than was necessary. And he always paid special attention to safety...Khariton's life, however, is a subject in its own right. He still works now without days off, sometimes until 3 o'clock in the morning, and you know, he is 88 now. True, I can't understand why he lingers now. Previously I would work until 10 at night, then till 7, and nowadays I leave at 5 o'clock, because I see what I can finish it off tomorrow—no one has any need of all this now....[Interview ends]

...It was on that somewhat sad note that my conversation with General and Academican Yevgeniy Arkadyevich Negin ended.

I listened to the tape of our conversation several times in Moscow. I have endeavored to convey in some measure not just his points, but the inflexions too. I have omitted only personal material and a few details—they are of interest only to specialists. I appreciate that there are people who disagree with Negin and who are, moreover, ready to condemn him for having devoted his talent, energy, and life to nuclear weapons. I do not want to argue with them, because it is extremely difficult to prove today that people like Negin guarantee the safety of the planet, the people, and everyone of us. But perhaps there is no need—let history have its say.

Council of Afghan War Veterans' Affairs Meets

LD2104224192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow, April 21 TASS—A meeting of the Coordination Council of CIS plenipotentiaries on Afghan war veterans' affairs today discussed the search for and liberation of former Soviet soldiers taken prisoner or missing during the Afghan war, the status of Afghan war veterans and protection of their health.

In connection with the recently aggravated situation in Afghanistan, the search for and return to the motherland of POW's acquires special significance. Up till now the fate of 304 missing soldiers and officers has not become clear.

Ruslan Aushev, chairman of the Committee on Afghan War Veterans' Affairs under the CIS states' heads council, noted one should not expect the POW's to be quickly found and returned to the motherland.

Head of the committee's department for search and liberation of missing Afghan war veterans Leonid Buryukov said the best way to solve the POW problem is direct contacts with the opposition leaders and commanders of Afghan units, where former Soviet soldiers and officers might be.

According to the committee's information, 23,300 out of the 542,200 Afghan war veterans were wounded, about 27,000 got traumas, severe injuries and contusions and over 280,000 caught infection diseases.

Meeting participants were unanimous in the opinion Afghan war veterans need unified inter-state guarantees on health protection and this problem must be a concern of all sovereign states' leaders.

An inter-state medical-social program of health care and rehabilitation of Afghan war veterans, elaborated by the committee for 1992-1995, suggests the creation of a common data bank on medical-social servicing of Afghan war veterans and a system of common medical-psychological and social-labor rehabilitation service.

Taiwan Foreign Minister on Ties With CIS

924C1215A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with Taiwan's Foreign Minister Frederick Chien by IZVESTIYA special correspondents Vasiliy Zakharko and Vladimir Mikheyev in Taipei; date not given: "An Economic Miracle Is Possible in Russia Also"]

[Text]**"IZVESTIYA is known worldwide. I heard this name as a boy...."**

This was how Taiwan's Foreign Minister Frederick Chien began his meeting with us. He is 57 years of age. He grew up in a family of intellectuals, his father being rector of the National University and, subsequently, president of the Academy of Sciences. F. Chien himself defended his master's and doctoral theses in the field of international relations at Yale University in the United States. Having held high positions in the Foreign Ministry, he was ambassador in Washington in 1983-1988. Prior to his appointment as minister, he was head of the government's Economic Planning and Development Council. He is a member of the Central Standing Committee of the governing Kuomintang Party.

An important event in F. Chien's career was the invitation formerly from Chang Kaishi to become his personal secretary. For 10 years he remained one of the persons closest to the generalissimo, whose portrait hangs in the room for the reception of high-ranking visitors, where our interview took place. "Chang Kaishi made Frederick Chien part of his entourage as an honest and devoted individual," Simon She, senior official of the government's information service, told us. "He has this reputation today also. As distinct from many politicians of so high a level in the countries of this region, he has not provided himself with his own private residence and continues to live in a house provided by the state."

[IZVESTIYA] Mr. Minister, what place and significance in the Taiwan Government's foreign policy are assigned the 15 states formed on the territory of the USSR, Russia particularly?

[Chien] The event which occurred in December 1991 is of a historic nature. Our government is keeping an attentive eye on the development of the situation and sees in the formation of the CIS an opportunity for the establishment of trade and other relations. All attempts in the past, when the Soviet Union was in existence, led nowhere. Now propitious conditions have emerged. But we lack the possibilities for encompassing all 11 republics of the Commonwealth all at once, and for this reason we have determined for ourselves a scale of priorities—first Russia, then Ukraine and Byelarus. We have chosen these republics inasmuch as they may, in our view, be subjected to least pressure on the part of continental China.

We distinguish among these three republics Russia first and foremost by virtue of the vast territory which it occupies, the wealth of its natural resources, and its large population. There have been of late and continue to be considerable changes in your country, and it is annoying that I do not have sufficient information on this score. We are now sending a fact-finding delegation. My deputy, who will shortly be leaving for Moscow once again, was in Russia at the end of January.

A priority in our plans is to demonstrate a sincere desire for friendship with you. To the question of what Moscow expects from Taipei, we received the answer: humanitarian assistance in the form of food and trade on a barter basis. We have already sent a cargo of rice and drugs (IZVESTIYA reported this—authors). And we

have instructed our departments to resurrect their knowledge of barter deals, which were employed here 40 years ago. We have now partially forgotten how this is done.

Please convey to your government and your people that the Republic of China would like to establish substantive relations with your country.

[IZVESTIYA] Are you prepared for the accelerated development of trade and economic, scientific, and cultural relations between Taiwan and the CIS states without the establishment of official diplomatic relations with them?

[Chien] This is undoubtedly possible. All leading powers—the United States, Canada, Japan, Great Britain, Germany—follow this model. Although we have no official diplomatic relations with them, Taipei's representatives maintain there constant contacts with the governments of these countries. Such is possible in the case of Russia also.

[IZVESTIYA] Beijing's negative response to the recent opening of a consular mission of Taiwan in Latvia is well known. To what extent do you take stock of the fact that the governments of Russia and other states of the CIS have to take account of the viewpoint of the PRC in the formulation of their policy in respect of Taiwan?

[Chien] We are familiar with this scenario, when Beijing has attempted to dictate the foreign policy of states which have taken steps toward a rapprochement with Taipei. They have been threatened with excommunication. They have sometimes been punished even, relations with them having been broken off. I believe that this is an outdated policy and is akin to the Hallstein doctrine in Germany in Chancellor Adenauer's time (when the FRG would ostracize those who wanted to recognize the GDR—authors). The parallel suggests itself.

[IZVESTIYA] Taiwan business's penetration of continental China, where approximately 3,000 of your companies and firms currently operate, is now intensifying increasingly. Taiwan's capital investments in the PRC economy are in excess of $1 billion. Over 2.5 million of your citizens have already visited the other side of the strait.... Does all this mean that practical steps from the two sides could be taken in the not-too-distant future toward political dialogue?

[Chien] As of 1987 our government has eased its restrictions on contacts with continental China, primarily in respect of personal trips. Trade, albeit not direct but via Hong Kong, Japan, and the United States, is being conducted also, just as capital investments are being made as well—again via affiliates of Taiwanese companies in third countries. We hoped that an accommodatory movement in response on the part of the PRC would follow. This has not happened.

In March 1990 our government, under the leadership of President Li, presented a three-stage plan of the development of contacts with continental China. The first stage is extensive exchange at the individual level and citizens' trips from one country to the other. Together with scientific, cultural, and other ties. It is hoped that in this period the PRC's communist leaders will abandon their intention to isolate us. They could progress along the path of democratization also. If such changes occur, we will switch to the second stage, when trade and economic contacts link us directly. If this is successful, it would be time for political dialogue at the third stage.

As yet we are only on the first rung. But we are not rushing and not establishing a timeframe, otherwise we could find ourselves in the position of hostages to time. We prefer to go step by step.

[IZVESTIYA] Is the idea of a "pan-China common market" composed of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the PRC developing? When it was announced, there were forecasts that the pooling of the immense financial and natural resources and numerically gigantic work force of this region would quickly put it among the leaders of world industry.

[Chien] One indispensable condition is necessary for the realization of this concept: Continental China has to abandon the system of state planning of the economy and switch to a free market economy. The time, therefore, has not yet come for a "pan-China common market."

[IZVESTIYA] There has been a special relationship between Taiwan and the United States for more than 40 years; you personally, Mr. Minister, acquired an education in America and were for a long time ambassador in Washington; your card has your "Americanized" name—Frederick.... To what extent is this American accent reflected in the foreign policy which you pursue?

[Chien] Any employee of a diplomatic department—in any state—has always to proceed from the primacy of national interests. This goes for Russia also, I believe. Regardless of where I was taught and how many friends I have in America, my colleagues and I proceed from the recognized interests of our country. Our experience, that of those who have studied and lived overseas, helps our leaders make the right decisions, conferring with specialists who have an in-depth understanding of the way of thinking of, say, the Americans or the Japanese. During my time in Washington I maintained close relations with Ambassador Dobrynin, who was subsequently, reportedly, an adviser to President Gorbachev. People evidently listened closely to the opinion of a diplomat who had served for more than 20 years in the United States. Now, I believe, President Yeltsin takes account of the opinion of his envoy Lukin, who is in Washington.

[IZVESTIYA] We in our country have heard about Taiwan's economic miracle. On what conditions, in your opinion, is a Russian economic miracle possible?

[Chien] Over the past 30 years I have been closely connected with the process of economic growth—as personal secretary to Generalissimo Chang Kaishi and then as representative of President Jiang Jingguo. In the interval between the government of these two outstanding people the president was Yang Jiagan, he is less well known. It always gives me pleasure to quote his exceptionally concise explanation of how we have been successful. We have many problems, many difficulties, he said. How do we overcome them? We work hard. And if the difficulties multiply? Then we work even harder.

But aside from the industriousness of the population of Taiwan, a further two circumstances have to be given their due attention to the problems of education, including vocational-technical training, and a correct government policy which charted an order of priority of national tasks. First we had land reform, and based on this there was an upturn in agriculture. Then the manufacture of goods under licenses of foreign companies. Then stimulation of exports of these goods. Then industrialization and the development of heavy industry. Finally, emphasis in our day on progressive technology.

We should cite the following factor of considerable importance also: When we were starting out and were still poor, we were helped—by the United Nations and the United States.

I have no doubt that your people have the powers and opportunities for working a "Russian miracle." After all, you have shown the world that you have boldness—the boldness to rid yourselves of the communist system, which caused you so much harm and distorted Russia's historical and cultural traditions. You are with the same boldness and decisiveness embarking on the country's economic revival, and I believe that the goal will be achieved.

[IZVESTIYA] And if there are difficulties, it is necessary to work even harder....

[Chien] This is the only way to success.

Ambassador on South Korea's Interest in Ties

LD2104210892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1336 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow, April 21—In regard to relations with CIS countries South Korea gives unconditional priority to its ties with Russia, the ambassador of the Republic of Korea, Hong Soon-Yong said in an interview today with ITAR-TASS.

The orientation towards Russia is not only because it is the largest republic among the former Soviet Republics, but also due to its powerful economic potential, geographical and strategical situation. South Korea hopes to develop rich natural resources of Siberia and the Far Eastern regions of Russia. South Korea's orientation towards Russia does not mean it will sever ties with other republics of the former Soviet Union. South Korea will pay serious attention to the development of relations with Ukraine, one of the most economically developed republics, as well as with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, where some 400 thousand ethnic Koreans live.

The ambassador said both sides need to broaden political ties and develop trade and economic relations not only on a governmental level, but in the private sphere. Towards this end, it is necessary to create conditions to attract South Korean private capital. But at the same time, the ambassador did not see any obstacles to develop full-scale relations between the two countries.

Over 1 Million Jews Ready To Immigrate to Israel

LD2104141792 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0832 GMT 20 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Kerzhentsev]

[Text] Tel Aviv, 20 Apr—"Over a million Jews in CIS countries are in various states of readiness to emigrate to Israel", declared Simha Dinitz, chairman of the Jewish Agency, on his return to Tel Aviv on Sunday [19 April] after a seven-day tour of several CIS countries. He said, for example, that 90 percent of 200,000 Jews living in Muslim states of the Commonwealth, already have immigration documents in their possession, and the number of people wishing to emigrate to Israel continues to increase.

The head of the Jewish Agency spoke with particular satisfaction about his meetings with leaders of the Russian Federation who, he said, "are seriously concerned about increasing anti-Semitism in Russia". He said that such concern was expressed by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, among others.

Dinitz stressed that a sharp increase in immigration to Israel should not be expected until arrangements have been made within the country to settle the new immigrants.

Military

Crimea May Play Important Role in Fleet Talks

PM2104193192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Apr 92 p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Urban and Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin: "Republic of Crimea Becomes Third Force: Talks Between Russia and Ukraine on Black Sea Fleet Postponed for the Moment"]

[Text] In the morning of 21 April an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the secretariat of Russian Federation State Counselor Sergey Shakhray that the talks between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet scheduled for 22 April in Odessa have been postponed. It is known that the decision to postpone the talks was agreed by the two countries' presidents, although at press time Boris Yeltsin's press service had no information about this.

One can only assume that it was due to the sides' completely opposite views on the future of the Black Sea Fleet.

The Ukrainian delegation is headed by Vasiliy Durdinets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who conducted the talks in Sevastopol with the CIS Joint Armed Forces delegation. Clearly, Ukraine's demands are not going to change. It is no coincidence that after the meeting in Kiev (16-17 April) the Russian and Ukrainian delegations preparing the talks in Odessa were reminded yet again by Anton Buteyko, adviser to the Ukrainian president and director of the president's international policy service, that the republic had contributed 20-25 percent to the building of the former USSR's Navy, whereas the entire Black Sea Fleet constitutes just 17 percent of the Navy and the part of the Black Sea Fleet stationed in Ukraine represents just 10 percent. Consequently, it is already automatically Ukrainian. And the talks must be conducted solely to determine that part of the Black Sea Fleet which is to be transferred to the CIS strategic forces.

Durdinets talked about this back in Sevastopol. Let us recall, however, that Russia subscribes to a different viewpoint. In yesterday's issue of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Ambassador at Large Yuriy Dubinin, head of the Russian delegation, stated that the Black Sea Fleet will not be split up in Odessa and that the only possible issue is that of allocating part of the Black Sea Fleet's forces to Ukraine. Therefore the fate of the Fleet can hardly be settled quickly.

According to independent observers, much at the talks will depend on the stance of the Republic of Crimea, whose leadership has clearly hinted that it does not intend to remain in the shadows. Last week Crimea began to "display character." For example, the republic's Defense Council acknowledged that strategic military stocks and weapons have recently been removed from its territory without coordination with the Crimean Supreme Soviet. In this connection the council asked Leonid Kravchuk to instruct the Defense Ministry to cease these actions. At the same time the Defense Council ordered commanders of military units to reinforce the protection of strategic stocks and ordered the Crimean Council of Ministers not to allow strategic resources to be removed from the peninsula.

Observers regard the inclusion of Nikolay Bagrov, chairman of the Republic of Crimea parliament, and Colonel Ivan Yermakov, the president's representative in Sevastopol, in the state delegation to the Odessa talks as a concession by Kiev to Simferopol. Previously people "tried not to notice" the Republic of Crimea when such questions were being resolved. But now that the question of holding The all-Crimean referendum has practically been settled (on 5 May, after examining the signatures collected by the Republican Movement of Crimea [RMC], the Crimean parliament, in accordance with the law, will have to set a date for the referendum), this third force simply cannot be ignored.

But the RMC is already demanding that Crimea's independence be proclaimed immediately and that it take under its own jurisdiction everything that a sovereign state should possess. Observers link this demand to the RMC's desire to weaken Ukraine's position at the Black Sea Fleet talks.

Let us add that at a joint session of the executive committee and the collegium of the Sevastopol City Soviet standing commissions there has already been a proposal to extend the moratorium on the Russian and Ukrainian presidents' decrees on the Black Sea Fleet pending the resolution of the Crimea's fate in the upcoming referendum.

An appeal to the Russian and Ukrainian presidents adopted on the results of the meeting between the Black Sea Fleet Military Council and Crimean deputies from the armed forces is more restrained in its tone and assessments. The appeal notes in particular that the Black Sea Fleet question simply cannot be dragged out any longer. At the same time, it stresses that the hasty formation of Ukrainian Navy management structures during the moratorium could have grave consequences, up to and including confrontation between people equipped with weapons and combat hardware. The participants in the meeting ask the presidents to "remember that the Fleet performs operational strategic tasks in the interests of all Commonwealth countries."

In any event, Ukraine can hardly ignore all these factors. And Russia will hardly fail to make use of them.

Kasatonov Says Ukraine Has Right To Own Fleet

LD2104212192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] For the second week, the Black Sea Fleet and Sevastopol have been living without meetings and pickets. The seamen are not swearing oaths of allegiance

to the CIS or to Ukraine, and are not raising St. Andrew's flags over new vessels, but are getting on with what they should get on with: they are doing their ordinary service.

However, this lull is linked to the hope that a political decision on the Black Sea Fleet will at last be taken at the talks in Odessa. [video shows Admiral I.V.Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, being interviewed]

[Kasatonov] What kind of political decision will be taken—and we are awaiting it—this decision will, an order will follow this decision and we will execute that order.

I would like to stress again that it is also my view that Ukraine has the right to have its own fleet, and it will have it.

Further on Caspian Flotilla Protocol

PM2204114592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Apr 92 p 1

[Report by Captain Third Rank V. Maryukha: "Caspian Flotilla: Decision on Division Reached, Mechanism of Transfer of Forces and Property Still To Be Elaborated"]

[Text] By all accounts for the first time since Peter the Great, our Navy, instead of multiplying its glory and traditions, is successfully mastering the next most complex mathematical operation—division. It cannot be said this is a painless process but at least outwardly it is civilized. Just one quarter of the Caspian Flotilla has been left to the CIS Navy and a further 50 percent will be under common command until the signing of a quadripartite agreement between Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan. The hydrographic service remains intact: It will tackle specific tasks in the common interests of the Caspian republics.

Agreement has been reached on the division of the Flotilla's housing stock. In exchange for the housing released, the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry will buy apartments in cities in other CIS countries at current prices. Most probably in Astrakhan, where it is believed the bulk of the forces remaining in the CIS Navy will be transferred. A separate agreement will decide the fate of the Caspian Higher Naval College and the ship repair yard.

But in accordance with a protocol, part of the Caspian Flotilla's forces and property will be transferred to the Azerbaijani side as the 25 percent due to it even before the signing of the intergovernmental agreement. As Captain Second Rank Nikolay Shumnyy, in charge of the Caspian Flotilla's activity at the Navy Main Staff, explained to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the first items to be transferred are installations on Azerbaijani territory which simply cannot be divided among the claimants and which require considerable forces from the Flotilla for protection against theft. These are mainly naval property depots. According to Shumnyy, the Caspian Flotilla's effective strength which is due to be divided contains several combined units of harbor policing ships and amphibious warfare ships, which are mainly obsolete but quite combat capable. Until the final elaboration of a mechanism for the transfer of Flotilla property (this work at expert level will be completed by 15 May, it is believed), it is difficult to state categorically which forces the interested parties will receive. However, it may be said right now that Azerbaijan, like Latvia, which is refitting fisheries inspection vessels as warships, will become a naval power, albeit in the waters of a closed sea.

But the agreements that have been reached did not completely satisfy the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry. Colonel Ramiz Melikov, chief of the ministry's press service, told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA about this by telephone. "The commission for the transfer of the Flotilla's property and forces is still at work," he said, "so it is still too soon to talk about what we will get and what will be left at the disposal of the CIS Navy."

Commonwealth

Meeting of Central Asian Presidents Previewed

LD2204045792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0319 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Excerpts] Among today's events is a meeting in Bishkek of the heads of state of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Our correspondent in Kyrygzstan, Aleksandr Mirtov, talks about this event. [passage omitted]

[Mirtov] Now in more detail about the meeting itself. It begins this afternoon after Presidents Nazarbayev, Karimov, Nabiyev, and Niyazov arrive in Bishkek. With regard to the agenda, your first question, our republic has proposed a list of agreements, a list of documents, for this meeting. The list is quite broad and includes a number of questions which, no doubt, may be of mutual interest. Within the Kyrgyzstan proposals are agreements coordinating banking and price policies and on mechanisms for mutual payments in interstate trade and treaties. There is also an agreement on creating interstate investment institutions for the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. I think there are, no doubt, topical documents proposed for discussion by our republic; for example, the joint statement on the protection of the rights and interests of national minorities, and also a protocol on the intentions for realizing CIS member state agreements on border issues. But once again I want to stress, and remind you, that these are the issues that our republic, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, is proposing for the meeting.

I must say that experts from other states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan who came here somewhat earlier have naturally brought their own packets of documents and proposals. They will all be carefully analyzed taking into account the interests of every state. But as I have already said, the presidents will have the last word. Evidently journalists will discover the final agenda only this evening.

Apart from this, it is expected that tomorrow treaties of friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Kyrgyzstan and the Republic of Tajikistan will be signed, and also between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Tomorrow afternoon the heads of state of Central Asia and Kazakhstan will hold a news conference on the results of the meeting. I think that by then we will have complete and exhaustive information.

Trade Unions Sign Agreement on Reorganization

LD2104133692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1206 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow April 21—"No dictates of any kind from above. Strict fulfilment of functions delegated by member organizations," the first vice-chairman of the reorganized General Trade Union Confederation (GTUC), Igor Yurgens defined the fundamental principle of his organization's activities in a talk with the ITAR-TASS correspondent. The declaration regarding reorganization of GTUC forwarded to the international association was signed last week by a majority of trade union centres of sovereign states, branches of industries and other trade union structures in the CIS.

Among the most important functions of the reorganized confederation, Yurgens named, were coordination of protective activities of trade unions over the entire social and economic space of the new Commonwealth, legal aid to member organizations on complicated market processes such as privatization, possible bankruptcy of enterprises and large scale retrenchments.

In addition to it the GTUC will take up on itself the reponsibility of organising international activities outside the new Commonwealth. "Our confederation is prepared to coordinate general work with the International Labour Organization and other specialised institutions of the UNO, to carry out assignments of our members in respect of the World Labour Confederation, the European Trade Union Confederation and other international trade union organizations," Igor Yurgens said.

Former USSR Prime Minister Ryzhkov Interviewed

LD2104125192

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1459 GMT on 19 April carries a 52-minute recorded interview during the "Moment of Truth" program with former USSR Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov by correspondent Andrey Karaulov.

After a brief biography, Karaulov asks Ryzhkov if he has become accustomed to being retired. Ryzhkov replies: "Well you know, I do not actually regard myself as retired. I am a former prime minister, so I am disposed to think that I resigned, I did not go into retirement. But accordingly, of course, I try to keep up with economic and political life as much as possible."

Karaulov then asks: "But one cannot bring back the past, Nikolay Ivanovich, that is obvious even for you, is it not?" Ryzhkov answers: "Of course! One cannot cross the same river twice, as the saying goes."

Karaulov continues: "When an organizing committee springs up to convene the next—as the organizing committee put it—Congress, you take part in a news conference. Unexpected and improvised it may have been, but you were there. What was this, then, was it your attempt to return to politics? Or was it merely your position as a citizen, one you wanted to declare to everyone? What is your view on this?"

Ryzhkov replies: "I would not draw such conclusions from the news conference, and in general, I have on frequent occasions expressed my views pretty much in public. So I do not think taking part in the news conference held by the organizing committee is any return to big-time politics, nor did I regard it as such, it was not that I wanted to get a foothold in big-time politics, not at all. My motives for taking part in the news conference were quite different. I would say more: In December I signed a document proposing that the Congress be held, so as to determine what to do with the country—that was after the CIS was formed."

Karaulov goes on to ask: "Do you believe in the CIS? In one word, yes or no? I put this question to the former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, first and foremost. Yes or no?"

Ryzhkov answers: "As a former chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is also following the development of events today, I will say no, I do not." Ryzhkov continues: "Because the CIS was born very rapidly, without any profound background work being done, and now that the CIS, the Commonwealth, has emerged, a colossal number of questions have arisen. These questions should have been resolved first, and only then should a Commonwealth, or a Union of Independent States have been created. Because there is no mechanism for coordination of all the actions of the former Union republics, currently sovereign states. That is the main thing: If there is no mechanism, then it is unable to function. So it is my opinion, and I was of the same view when I backed the Congress of People's Deputies, the opinion I wanted to voice at the news conference, and I did so, was that there can be no return to the old Union, to the USSR, nor can there be any return to the old understanding. And so as for what there has been a lot of talk about recently, about wanting to bring back the Soviet Union, I was against it and I voiced my position quite clearly. It cannot be brought back, there can be only a different state."

Karaulov goes on to say that people read in the press that it was Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Gorbachev who were to blame for the economic mess the country is in. "This generalization is untrue," Ryzhkov replies. "The fact is that Ryzhkov and Gorbachev as the head of state naturally understood that it was necessary to move from one economic model to another. We understood that this

was a pretty difficult matter. But it had to be done, because we had exhausted our old economic models, and what is more, we had exhausted ourselves. And so we had to move from one bank of the river to the other. But one can move in various ways. One can leap into the river regardless of the whirlpools and rapids; and one can find a ford to carry the economy across. I was of the view that one should find a ford and cross with the minimum losses. Many people will get their feet wet, of course, but it will not be like it is today, when everything was thrown in, and now who is managing to keep their heads above water?"

Ryzhkov answers questions on the public view of the cooperatives as money-grabbers; and on the "third way" between capitalism and socialism. Karaulov then asks: "Did you ever betray Gorbachev?" Ryzhkov says: "No." Karaulov continues: "And did he ever betray you?" Ryzhkov does not reply, and after a lengthy pause, Karaulov says: "Everyone felt that in 1990, that closeness between you, when everyone saw you sitting beside one another on their television screens, when he addressed you in a very easy way at sessions and congresses and so on, that closeness suddenly melted away. What happened? Did you become disillusioned with him, or him with you? What is your recollection of all this now?"

Ryzhkov replies: "To speak frankly, we went along in step together from 1983 onwards" both under Andropov and later. "At that time I believed in Gorbachev, but later on, in the last couple of years we were together, I perceived that he was maneuvering all the time, maneuvering and not sticking to any specific line. I felt this, but times were different then, or perhaps it was my character that prevented me from taking the rostrum or going to some meeting or other and speaking out, making accusations against him: but I did indeed sense that he had no clear line of where to go, that he was tossing about from the left to the right bank. It was necessary to take up some specific position. And take up a position I did. 1990 was the most terrible year for me, I was attacked for a whole year, until I had an heart attack on 25 December. I was attacked not because my surname is Ryzhkov, but because my position did not suit people. I stood for a gradual transition to the market in the economy, so that there should be none of the shocks that have occurred today. From the political point of view, I stood for a unified state, and for a new Union treaty which would have defined a new type of our state. But I advocated statehood, because the other economic programs did not so much as mention the state at all."

Karaulov asks who had influence over Gorbachev at this time and Ryzhkov says Gorbachev "feared all sides. He was simply maneuvering." Ryzhkov confirms that he found out about Gorbachev's decision to change the Council of Ministers into the Cabinet of Ministers only minutes before it was announced in the Congress on 17 December 1990: had he resigned on that occasion, however, it would have meant "political death" for him.

Asked to rate his own performance as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Ryzhkov says he performed his task conscientiously. "We were the real power, we were the Council of Ministers, we implemented our policy. But then, when everything was modernized, these became bodies that hung on everyone else's words." What, Karaulov says, of Burbulis and Gaydar, do they not represent power? Ryzhkov answers: "They have no independent power, what sort of independent power is it when the president combines two functions?"

Asked if he thought Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had something to answer for to the people, Ryzhkov replies: "If the state had fallen apart today, and he was the president, the head of state, it would be naive to think he had nothing to answer for." Regarding his own culpability, Ryzhkov says: "I was not present when the flag was taken down, I think. The flag was taken down exactly a year after I left my post, my last day at work was 25 December 1990," and exactly a year later Gorbachev announced his resignation. The Politburo, Ryzhkov affirms, was anything but "a team of like-thinkers, of yes men who just raised their hands in the affirmative"; "one must give Gorbachev his due, he allowed opposing points of view to be aired freely, although sometimes very big arguments and frictions did break out". The Politburo of 1987-1988 had the merit that it was able to say no to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov says, though he denies they ever had the idea of kicking him out.

After asking about some of the personalities in the old Politburo, Karaulov asks: "Now, when there is no longer is a CPSU, are you a communist?" Ryzhkov says: "I keep my Party card in my desk. I am no longer a Party member, there are lots of new parties now, five or 10 of them, I do not know, have been set up, it is hard to keep up with all the parties and movements being set up on the basis of the CPSU. I will not join any party. The time will come, I reckon, when the question of the Party will have to be settled. In my opinion, it was not right to ban the Party, not right at all. You see, the current leadership—I am generalizing a bit, perhaps—is creating many opponents for itself by its actions."

Karaulov says: "Nikolay Ivanovich, just how could over 50 million rubles [R] in party funds land up abroad? And altogether, did you, as chairman of the Council of Ministers, as the man in charge of finances, know about these millions, these thousands of millions which are now described in the papers as the CPSU millions or billions?"

Ryzhkov replies: "I want this matter to be absolutely clear: the budget of the state and the budget of the Party were two absolutely different budgets. They had their own Party budget, their own revenue and expenditure, and therefore it was Party money I was not in charge of and had no right to use." He says that it did indeed grieve him that funds needed at home were used to support parties abroad, but this was dictated, Ryzhkov asserts, by the political situation: "Take Libya for example, what do we have in common? Why did we send

weapons there?" The political goals, Ryzhkov admits, did seem a sham to him, but the foreign policy had been drawn up by the Politburo and leadership, and had to be implemented. He denies there was ever any "Politburo mafia" that went down through the Party, but admits there are many points about the Foros plot by the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] about which he is still unclear.

Explaining his attitude to the SCSE, Ryzhkov says: "I cannot excuse the methods the SCSE used to resolve, to put right the situation in the country, to improve it to some degree—and the country was indeed in a very difficult and grave situation in 1991. They breached the Constitution"; yet within a few months, after December 1991, that same Constitution was wiped out, and the state itself no longer existed, Ryzhkov adds.

After a few comments on the personalities of Lukyanov, Yanayev, and Pavlov, Ryzhkov comments on Sobchak's description of him as the "weeping Bolshevik": he fought for years for radical changes, he says, and then in 1990 he was suddenly labelled a conservative. It was on his own initiative, Ryzhkov asserts, that he flew down to Ukraine following the Chernobyl accident; Gorbachev and the government were not consulted over Shcherbitskiy's plans to go ahead with the May Day demonstrations. As for the allegations that Gorbachev knew all about the Tbilisi events, Ryzhkov denies knowlege of what orders or instructions were given, but "I know the way things worked, and I can say that the general secretary was obliged to be informed of what was going on, and he was, I am more than sure. But in what form instructions or reports were given, I do not know."

Asked his view of the situation in Russia today, Ryzhkov replies: "In my view, what is being done in Russia today, from the economic point of view, is impermissible, all in all, quite impermissible." A clear program of action is what is needed, "not improvisation". His solution to the situation would be to gather economists of all opinions for discussion to work out a program.

Ryzhkov does not regret his period in government, it was his government that gave the stimulus for change, even if things are not going in the right direction now. Asked whether he had seen in Yeltsin a future leader of Russia, when he knew him years ago in Sverdlovsk, Ryzhkov says he had not; but then he did not see himself as a future prime minister at that time, either. He had indeed understood that the presidential fight against Yeltsin would be difficult, but he considered it his civic duty to run.

Karaulov then asks: "Nikolay Ivanovich, so Pavel Korchagin, my director, and I and the camera crew made a mistake in not electing you president of Russia?"

Ryzhkov concludes: "Well, on your own conscience be it!"

Media

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Apr

LD2204061692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0601 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Moscow April 22 ITAR-TASS—Newspapers highlight today the Sixth Russian Congress of People's Deputies, which ended on Tuesday [21 April]. Summing up its results, they all state that the policy of economic reforms has managed to be preserved. The press reports the final speech, made at the congress by President Yeltsin, who described the "preservation of the strategic course towards the support for radical reforms" as its main result.

Newspapers write that on Tuesday, on the last working day of the congress, the legislators adopted resolutions on the protection of constitutional bodies of power, on the termination of powers of people's deputies who are at the same time members of parliament, as well as a number of other documents. Venyamin Yakovlev was appointed chairman of the Supreme Court of Arbitration of the Russian Federation, the press reports.

Commenting on the final speech of President Yeltsin, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA points out that its keynote was the support for the government. The newspaper calls attention to the fact that part of people's deputies were disappointed at it, because they hoped the president would express dissatisfaction with the Russian Government.

TRUD reports the decision of President Yeltsin to release Sergey Shakhray from the post of deputy head of the government. The newspaper points out, however, that Shakhray continues to be secretary of state of the Russian Federation and head of the state legal department.

The problem of Russian-Ukrainian talks about the future of the Black Sea Fleet continues to be one of the highlights of today's newspapers. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes, that although the Russian- Ukrainian talks were postponed for a week, even now they should take into consideration the "third force" which may influence their outcome, specifically, the stand of the Crimean leadership. In the opinion of the newspaper, "the republic of the Crimea is becoming the third force, which can make a strong impact" on the way Moscow and Kiev will settle the problem of the divison of the Black Sea Fleet.

According to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the 14th Army has not become the disengagement barrier in the Dniester region, Moldova. The newspaper writes that in the current situation, when the ceasefire agreement is being continually violated, "Army officers have to decide by themselves which of the two sides to support."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an appeal of former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to participants in the Paris conference "Where the East is going?" He

stressed he was "pinning much hope on the continuation of the all-European process" which, in his opinion, is "absolutely necessary."

The whole of today's issue of PRAVDA deals with the creation, existence and tragic end of the national treasure of Russians—the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, in the centre of Moscow. According to the newspaper, the cathedral was the "sacred place for all Russians", the "guardian of Russia's glory". The newspaper carries the speech by Aleksiy, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, on this subject. PRAVDA publishes two articles entitled "Death of Cathedral" and "Destroyed Monument", which deals with plans of its destruction and some details of that barbaric action.

Today, on the 122nd birth anniversary of Lenin, newspapers carry materials on this subject expressing different views. The opinion of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA seems to be the most impartial one. It writes that "even those who studied Lenin's life did not know the whole truth about him. A lot of things were closed for them. Now dogmas and canons have become a thing of the past. And still it is too early to say that we know all about Lenin. The excessive politisation of society, unreasonable emotionalism and a categorical way of assessing facts are hampering this process."

International Affairs

Black Sea Fleet Talks To Begin 29 Apr

LD2104133792 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1302 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—Negotiations on the Black Sea Fleet between state delegations of Ukraine and Russia will take place on 29-30 April in Odessa, special envoy Yuriy Dubinin announced at a briefing in the Russian Foreign Ministry press center today. As is known, the negotiations were due to begin on 22 April. The change in schedule, according to the diplomat, has been made in order to allow the documents being submitted at the negotiations to be worked through more carefully. In answer to a question from ITAR-TASS, Yuriy Dubinin stressed that there was no underlying political reason.

Speaking about the content of the forthcoming negotiations, the special envoy commented that the delegations are faced with a great deal of work to draw up the criteria for dividing up the Black Sea Fleet, but the principles enshrined in the CIS documents must be at the basis. In particular, the diplomat noted, the fleet is an integral part of the Commonwealth strategic forces, with the exception of that part which will pass to the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Further on Talks

OW2104193692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1827 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The talks in Odessa on the future of the Black Sea Fleet between the governmental delegations of Russia and Ukraine have been put off till April 29-30 in view of the need to prepare the documents more thoroughly, member of the Russian Federation's official delegation and special envoy Yuriy Dubinin announced at a press conference on Tuesday [21 April]. Initially, the talks were scheduled for April 22-26. Answering IF's [INTERFAX] question, Yuriy Dubinin said that the criteria for dividing the Black Sea Fleet needed to be specified. He also said that the approach whereby all ships registered in the Ukrainian ports should belong to Ukraine goes against the CIS agreements. Yuriy Dubinin stressed that according to the agreement signed by the CIS heads of state, the Black Sea Fleet belongs to the CIS strategic forces. The Odessa talks will concentrate, as earlier agreed upon, on determining which part of the Black Sea Fleet will go to Ukraine. IF's note: The Russian Federation's state legal adviser Sergey Shakhray has been appointed head of the Russian delegation. Today, Boris Yeltsin has accepted Sergey Shakhray's resignation as vice-premier of the Russian government. Some of the observers believe that the change in Sergey Shakhray's status was one of the reasons why the talks have been put off.

Shakhray, Dubinin Cited

MK2104112592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 92 p 1

[Interview with Sergey Shakhray and Yuriy Dubinin by Vitaliy Portnikov under "Diplomacy" rubric; place and date not given: "Talks on Black Sea Fleet Will Take Place in Odessa. Sergey Shakhray and Yuriy Dubinin Comment on Russia's Position for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA"]

[Text] Russian Federation State Counselor S. Shakhray:

"At the beginning of the talks, the sides' positions are diametrically opposed. Whereas the Russian Federation proceeds on the basis of the idea that the Black Sea Fleet is a constituent component of the CIS Strategic Forces, the Ukrainian side—on the basis of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet resolution dated 8 April and the Ukrainian presidential decree which, as far as I know, was only suspended on one point, but is valid apart from that—proceeds from the opposite idea: that the Black Sea Fleet is the Ukraine's fleet and the only issue can be that of transferring a few percent of the items making up the fleet to the Commonwealth Strategic Forces.

"On the other hand, the Russian side has a well-reasoned position from the purely legal viewpoint, which unfortunately is not always the main viewpoint at the talks. It is as follows: A protocol of the working conference of CIS heads of state was signed in Moscow at the outset, and it contains a point, with an amendment in President Kravchuk's own hand, to the effect that the entire former USSR Navy is now the CIS Navy, with the exception of that part subject to transfer to Ukraine on the basis of talks with Russia. This was signed by President Kravchuk. This document means that we can stop talking about the status of the Black Sea Fleet at the talks—this has already strictly speaking been agreed—and actually talk about coordinating the Russian and Ukrainian positions in order to put an end to this conflict that we can all do without."

[Portnikov] Does it not seem to you that Russian-Ukrainian relations are becoming a factor of internal policy—at the deputies' congress too?

[Shakhray] You have pinpointed one of the important details. Although you must admit that, in the same way, in Ukraine the question of mutual relations with Russia is both a mainspring and a motive force both for Rukh and for other strong political movements. So this is a two-way phenomenon. It is questions about the CIS, Crimea, and the Black Sea Fleet, and whether to leave mention of the USSR in the Russian Constitution, that are the bridgehead for politial struggle primarily within Russia. Those who pose these questions have no illusions that you can bring Ukraine or Russia to their knees now,

or that with the assistance of the Armed Forces it would be possible to restore the Union. They are using this in the struggle against the president and the government. But these deputies have support among the people, they are not simply deranged. The minds of the Russian people, traumatized by the disintegration of the Union, are very fertile ground for national patriotism. Now this scenario is being played out. But it is a bloody scenario.

[Portnikov] But in Russia there are differences of opinion on Russian-Ukrainian relations not just between the president, the government, and the congress, but within the presidential administration itself.

[Shakhray] There is nothing surprising in that. Anyone who considers themselves a politician tests the water. Many people in the president's entourage, seeing the growing force of the wave of national patriotism, are beginning to flirt with it. History has shown where this ends. But nevertheless it is happening. What is the president's position? He can play the role of arbiter to a certain point; he is forced to play this role, because real political forces exist. But there should not be any opposition within his own team.

[Portnikov] Are there mostly pragmatists in the president's entourage today?

[Shakhray] At the moment, yes.

[Portnikov] Might their number not change under the influence of circumstances such as a deterioration in Russian-Ukrainian relations?

[Shakhray] At the moment I do not consider this danger to be serious, but I cannot rule it out.

Special Envoy Yu. Dubinin:

"An active line in Russain-Ukrainian relations is being pursued by the Russian Foreign Ministry," stressed Yuriy Dubinin, leader of the Russian state delegation at the talks with Ukraine and special envoy. "Some time ago we put forward an initiative to form a composite delegation that would be involved in all questions of our relations and that would be authorized to hold talks with Ukraine. First of all the leader of the delegation was appointed, and then its staff was formed. Talks are at the heart of our concept of Russian-Ukrainian relations. That is exactly the way we approached the problem of the Black Sea Fleet."

On 16-17 April in Kiev the sides prepared the ground for talks that will begin 22 April in Odessa. Yuriy Dubinin made a positive assessment of the Kiev meeting. He stressed that the situation concerning the fleet is based on the documents on the CIS. The protocol signed by the heads of the CIS states back in mid-January, with the amendment in Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk's own hand, is most significant. It points out that "the former USSR Navy is part of the Commonwealth Strategic Forces with the exception of a part of the forces of the Black Sea Fleet that will join the Ukrainian Armed Forces." At the same time it is being borne in mind that "the question of the transfer of some of the ships and vessels belonging to the Black Sea Fleet is being resolved on the basis of a bilateral Russian-Ukrainian agreement."

According to Dubinin, the Ukrainian position—namely that the fleet that is in its ports belongs to Ukraine—is in glaring contradiction with the document signed by the heads of the CIS countries.

According to the leader of the Russian delegation, the compromise at the talks will consist in a just decision concerning the part of the fleet that will be allocated to Ukraine. For this purpose, criteria comprehensible to both sides, to public opinion, and to the world must be defined.

Talks Seen as 'Lengthy and Difficult'

PM2104192192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Ambassador at Large Yuriy Dubinin, member of the Russian Federation delegation to talks with Ukraine, by Konstantin Eggert; place and date not given: "'Black Sea Fleet is Just One Problem in Russo-Ukrainian Relations.' Ambassador Yu. Dubinin Hopes that Kiev Will Accept Yeltsin's Proposals"]

[Text] On 22 April in Odessa the Russian delegation headed by State Counselor Sergey Shakhray and the Ukrainian delegation led by Vasiliy Durdinets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, will begin discussing the Black Sea Fleet issue. Yuriy Dubinin, Russian Foreign Ministry ambassador at large and a member of the Russian Federation delegation, agreed to answer IZVESTIYA's questions.

[Eggert] Yuriy Vladimirovich, what is the Russian Federation's starting position at these talks?

[Dubinin] We do not have concrete proposals on the division of the fleet's ships and property. In our view, the first thing to do is to devise a set of criteria on the basis of which such a division could take place. You cannot throw ships around like counters. After all, we are dealing not only with equipment but first and foremost with people.

Obviously, our starting point is what kind of fleet Ukraine needs. It is not our business to interfere in a sovereign state's internal affairs, but President Kravchuk has announced to the whole world that his country wants to be non-nuclear and neutral. Probably these are the basic principles on which Kiev's defense policy, including its naval strategy, should be formed.

[Eggert] Recently the Ukrainian side has been stating that ships registered at ports on the republic's territory must be placed at its disposal. What can you say about that?

[Dubinin] Just one thing: This means the transfer of the whole Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine's control. The only large Russian port on the Black Sea is Novorossiysk.

This is a civilian port where several border cutters which do not belong to the Black Sea Fleet are based. Furthermore, such an approach contravenes CIS documents.

[Eggert] Which ones?

[Dubinin] The protocol of the working meeting of the CIS heads of state 16 January, which says: "It is reaffirmed that the Navy of the former USSR belongs to the strategic forces of the Commonwealth, except for some of the Black Sea Fleet forces, which will belong to the Ukrainian Armed Forces." This document bears the signature of L. Kravchuk. Incidentally, it also stipulates the need to resolve questions of the division of the Navy on the basis of bilateral talks.

[Eggert] The Black Sea Fleet is just part of the whole range of problems of Russian-Ukrainian relations...

[Dubinin] Of course. That is precisely why President Yeltsin proposed that a long-term negotiating mechanism be created to elaborate a durable legal-treaty basis for relations between Moscow and Kiev. Ukraine has still not responded to that initiative.

[Eggert] How do you rate the prospects of the talks on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet?

[Dubinin] To me it is absolutely clear that 22 April will be just the first round of a very lengthy and difficult process.

Commentary on Talks

LD2104202492 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Yuriy Solton Commentary]

[Excerpt] In Odessa the delegations of Russia and Ukraine are to discuss the problem of dividing the Black Sea Fleet and the discussion is to take place from 22-26 of this month. Commentary is by Yuriy Solton:

This is rather a political than a military problem, though the decision will surely tell on military matters, too. [passage omitted]

On 5th April Ukraine declared the Black Sea Fleet its property and President Kravchuk issued a corresponding decree. The question arises why Ukraine needs so many naval ships, which it won't be able to maintain, and from whom it's going to defend itself. Maybe from the former Soviet republics that are also part of the Commonwealth now, or from potential enemies from the outside it doesn't seem to have? More likely it's just a way to raise Ukraine's prestige on the international scene.

In two days President Yeltsin made a questionable move by issuing a decree that placed the Black Sea Fleet under Russian jurisdiction. The problem threatened to grow into an international one since on 9th April Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko circulated an official letter in the United Nations. Using the language of the cold war he accused Russia of encroachment on Ukraine's sovereignty, interference in its domestic affairs and provoking a conflict situation. Tension was building up. Fortunately commonsense prevailed. The Presidents suspended their decrees and decided to negotiate. It would be fine if such reasonable approach gets the better at the forthcoming talks in Odessa.

On Monday [20 April] a news conference of Ukraine's defense minister, Gen. Morozov, was announced in Moscow. Correspondents hoped to sound out Ukraine's position at the forthcoming talks, but the general didn't appear. As for Russia, its stand was laid down in the letter by Foreign Minister Kozyrev to the United Nations Secretary General. He dismissed the criticism of his Ukrainian counterpart as far-fetched and running counter to earlier agreement. He stressed Russian leaders believe all problems round the Black Sea Fleet should be solved through talks. He also hoped the talks would produce a compromise. [Radio Moscow World Service in English at 1500 GMT on 21 April in a news bulletin reports that the Black Sea Fleet talks in Odessa have been postponed to 29-30 April]

Libya Ordered To Reduce Diplomatic Staff

LD2104134992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—Russia is participating in the implementation of UN sanctions against Libya in all areas. This was stated at a briefing held today by Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the information and press department of the Russian Foreign Ministry. The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman noted in particular that the number of both military and technical staff at Russian establishments in that country were being reduced, and members of families were being evacuated. Yastrzhembskiy informed journalists that the Libyan charge d'affaires in Russia had recently been invited to the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry and a memorandum had been brought to his notice in which the Libyan side was required within two weeks to reduce the number of diplomatic staff working in Moscow by six to seven, and also to reduce the level of staff at the Libyan diplomatic mission in the Russian Federation.

'Difficult' Polish Talks on Withdrawal Held

PM2104132592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Apr 92 p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Petrukhin report under the general heading: "Polish President Intends To Visit Moscow in the Near Future"]

[Text] At the end of two days of Polish-Russian talks J. Makarczyk, Polish deputy foreign minister, and Colonel General P. Grachev, Russian deputy defense minister, signed the text of an agreement in Warsaw on financial

and property transactions linked with the withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces from Poland. The results of this round of international talks attest that a political compromise has been secured.

However, J. Makarczyk assessed the Polish-Russian talks on questiona of financial-property transcations linked with the withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces as "difficult." Moreover, Brigade General Z. Ostrowski, Polish Government plenipotentiary representative for affairs of Russian troops in Poland, said that the results may not satisfy President L. Walesa. In the general's opinion, in that case the question will arise of the advisability of the Polish president's visiting Moscow, where the document on the Russian troop withdrawal from Poland is to be signed.

Sides Compromise

LD2104132592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0830 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Moscow, April 21 TASS—Russian-Polish talks on the withdrawal of Russian troops from that country moved out of the deadlock at the latest round in Warsaw, according to the head of the Russian delegation. The sides finally managed to find a compromise on the major disagreement, i.e. on financial and property issues, Russian First Deputy Defence Minister Pavel Grachev told the "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" daily on Tuesday [21 April].

A document was worked out at the latest round which would help solve property disputes, according to Grachev. The document might be signed during a visit of Polish President Lech Walesa to Moscow.

Russia evaluates its real estate remaining in Poland for 400 million U.S. dollars. 100 million dollars will be handed over to Poland as compensation for environmental damage. The rest of the money is planned to be used to provide housing for the withdrawn troops, according to Grachev.

A considerable amount of movables will be withdrawn to Russia together with the troops, but if the Poles "are interested a greater part of the property can be sold to them", he added.

Kozyrev, Spanish Counterpart Discuss Ties

LD2104183492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1650 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—A meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Spanish counterpart, Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, ended today with the signing of a new Russian-Spanish protocol on consultations, which envisages interaction between the sides in the field of international cooperation and on security problems.

The head of Spanish foreign policy is in Moscow on an official visit, one of whose main aims is analyzing and updating treaties and laws which form the foundation of bilateral interstate relations.

During today's meeting, work on a draft treaty on friendship and cooperation between Russia and the Kingdom of Spain was completed. According to Russian diplomatic circles, its signing might take place during a visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Spain, planned for this summer.

Speaking to journalists about the nature of the conversation between the two ministers, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Russian Department for the Media and Information, announced that the parties agreed to assist in resolving the most acute problems within the CIS as well as in Europe as a whole. The main attention at the talks was focused on the role of European international institutions, first of all, of the CSCE, in the settlement of interethnic conflicts. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said that the Spanish foreign minister was very interested in the present development of the CIS. According to the spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez expressed extreme concern over the possible "spread" of nuclear weapons. He also was interested in the Russian position at the talks on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons within the framework of the CIS, a resumption of the withdrawal of tactical nuclear missiles from Ukraine to Russia, and also the Black Sea Fleet problem.

It is expected that the Spanish foreign minister will be received by Russian President Boris Yeltsin tomorrow. Meetings with Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the Russian parliament, and Yegor Gaydar, first vice premier of Russia, also are planned.

Khasbulatov Briefs Fernandez-Ordonez

LD2204100592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr—Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov met Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez today. At the Spanish minister's request, Ruslan Khasbulatov spoke about the outcome of the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, noting that the documents adopted there reflected not only the positive results of economic reform but also the desire of the body of deputies not to permit further decline in the living standards of the country's population. The Russian parliament speaker particularly stressed that overall the congress supported the course of continuing economic reforms and strengthening ties with the world community. In the words of Francisco Fernandez- Ordonez, people in Spain have followed with great interest the events in the Kremlin, appraising them as a unique experience of creativity encompasing the whole sphere of life in society.

Meetings are planned for today between Fernandez-Ordonez and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and First Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar.

Before flying to Kiev, where a meeting is planned with President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine, the Spanish minister will hold a news conference in Moscow.

Afghans Pledge No Attacks on Foreign Missions

LD2104155592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, April 21 TASS—Most Afghan opposition groups promised to refrain from hostile actions against foreign missions in Kabul, according to a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told reporters on Tuesday [21 April] the Russian Foreign Ministry had contacted various Afghan groups and political forces on the issue. Permanent contacts are also maintained with Foreign Ministeries of the United States, Pakistan, Iran and with the United Nations. There are 147 people remaining in the Russian Embassy in Kabul at present, according to the spokesman.

Russian diplomacy is rendering all-round support to U.N. efforts to prevent the armed conflict in Afghanistan from spiralling up and to promote a peaceful transfer of power. Any attempts to seize power by force in Kabul would result in most dangerous consequences both for Afghanistan and the whole region, the spokesman said.

Russian prisoners of war, held by mujahedin, should be released unconditionaly and immediately, according to Yastrzhembskiy. He welcomed the news about the release of soldier Bekmuradov from Uzbekistan. "I hope other former Soviet prisoners of war will soon get a chance to return home", the spokesman said.

Plans To Suspend Yugoslavia Relations Opposed

LD2204073392 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Excerpt] A spokesman of Russia's Foreign Ministry has said at a news conference in Moscow that his country does not support the intention of the United States and the countries of the European Community to suspend diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. The United States and the European Community hold the Federal Army in the Republic of Serbia mainly responsible for continuing interethnic community clashes in Bosnia and Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Consultations With Canada on Yeltsin's Visit

LD2104183892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1509 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, April 21 TASS—Russian-Canadian political consultations at the level of foreign ministers were held on April 14-16 in Ottawa to discuss all aspects of bilateral relations, Russian-Canadian interaction in world affairs and preparations for the upcoming Canadian visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The Russian delegation was headed by Georgiy Mamedov and the Canadian by David Wright, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

In the words of the Russian official, the Canadian side supported Russian economic reforms, including the creation of a favourable international climate for their success.

It showed special interest in relations within the CIS. In particular, Canada is concerned over the tendency towards spreading of nuclear arms on territory of the former Soviet Union.

The consultations highlighted the establishment of interaction between Russia and the [Group of] Seven. Canada will continue to fulfill bilateral projects of economic assistance to Russia and will participate in implementation of the Seven's package of aid measures.

Gorbachev Rejects U.S. as 'Head of the World'

LD2204044192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0403 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—"I think that there can be no talk of a monocentric world now," former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has stated in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

"I feel it is necessary to say this since such ideas have appeared; in particular, such an idea is stated in a draft Pentagon report. The U.S. Administration is advancing the idea that the second superpower has collapsed and now everything is set for America to become the head of the world and, using its strength, its power, for support, to lead the world according to its own rules. This would be a mistake for the American administration—a mistake for the whole of world politics," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev May Return To Politics in Future

LD2104123292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1227 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo, April 21 TASS—Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who is in Japan on a private visit, made it clear today that he may return to the political stage in future.

Responding to questions after delivering a regular lecture in the Japanese capital, Gorbachev said: "President Charles de Gaulle of France returned to power aged 68 and I am only 61. This means there is the possibility."

At the same time, he made it clear that some time should pass before he manages to continue his political career. "My comeback to a government post is unlikely to materialise within three or five years. However, I have already said when stepping down from the post of president that I do not intend to hide in Russian forests."

On his impressions from the 12-day tour of the country, which ends tomorrow, Gorbachev pointed out that he found statements by many Japanese leaders about the causes of Japan's economic success very interesting. They believe this became possible thanks to the effective centralised management of the economy with strong state power, he said.

Congress of Russian Germans Scheduled 29-30 May

LD2104214292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1431 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, April 21 TASS—The Congress of Russian Germans, scheduled for May 29-30, will discuss problems of Germans wishing to stay in Russia and other CIS countries, Deputy Chairman of the Union of Russian Germans Hugo Vormsbecher told ITAR-TASS.

Earlier congresses of Russians Germans yielded no result, Vormsbecher said. They only limited themselves to expressing problems of Russian Germans and criticising the situation. They oriented Russian Germans towards emigration, Vormsbecher said.

The leader of Russian Germans said it is impossible for all Germans to emigrate from Russia within the next forty years. That is why the Congress invited those Germans who have decided to stay.

U.S. Invites Navy To Join Red Sea Patrols

OW2104135292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1118 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As DP ["Diplomatic Panorama"] learned from well-informed military sources, the U.S. has invited Russia to join the patrolling of the Red Sea for the purpose of inspecting cargoes that reach Iraq by sea. The patrolling is conducted in compliance with a resolution adopted by the U.N. Security Council in connection with the Gulf war.

According to an expert from the General Staff of the CIS Navy, in practical terms this is to involve the despatch of a warship to join the four ships and a tanker belonging to the U.S. and France which are already there.

CIS Navy officials made it clear that Russia's joining the naval blockade against Iraq would be possible if Russia's government resolved the problem of financing this kind of operation. It includes the need to allocate funds to cover expenses connected with calls at foreign ports, purchases of food for the crew and the possible engine repairs.

Western Countries' Aid Package Outlined

PM2204075692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 92 Morning Edition pp 1,4

[Vladimir Lapskiy report: "The Aid Russia Can Count On"]

[Text] The West virtually abandoned its intention to grant aid to Russia when conservative deputies held sway over the reformers at the Kremlin Congress for a time. Now they have again started talking about the need to allocate billions for Russian reform, the course of which strikes the West as generally correct. There have been many arguments and fabrications about Western aid. What does it comprise, who is prepared to allocate it?

We should probably start by stating that this month we need to decide in principle the question of membership for Russia and the other former Union republics in the IMF, which, as is well known, is a specialized UN institution. They will become full members somewhat later. Membership of this organization will open up new opportunities for us to obtain loans.

Most often the figure of $24 billion is given—it was mentioned recently in speeches by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and U.S. President G. Bush. It seems as though the leading Western countries are prepared to allocate this amount of aid to Russia (it is planned to allocate $20 billion to the other states of the former USSR). $6 billion of this $24 billion will be used to create a stabilization fund in order to make the ruble convertible.

IMF Managing Director M. Camdessus stated in a speech the other day that in order to narrow the gulf between the world and the former Soviet republics, substantial bilateral aid from the donor countries would also be necessary, as would considerable assistance from the EC, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). An important role should be played by the deferral of payments. So far these have been postponed until 30 June. If the debt question is examined positively, it is thought that Russia will receive an additional $3-4 billion.

For his part, EBRD President J. Attali advocated the creation of a new system of long-term soft loans to aid Russia and the other CIS countries. It is planned to set

up a special fund backed by the bank's member countries. The new system envisages granting 30-50-year loans at an annual interest rate of approximately 2 percent. The possibility of attracting funds from the short-term loan market is also being investigated. These would cost 7-9 percent.

The $6 billion to set up the stabilization fund will be provided by the IMF. Two years ago a similar $3-billion fund was set up in Poland to bolster the zloty. But, in the opinion of D. Mulford, U.S. Treasury under secretary for international affairs, $6 billion will be sufficient to allow the Russian currency to be traded on world financial markets. If we add to this Russia's membership of the IMF and the $18 billion in aid, the Russian economy will start working, Mulford believes. As he put it, the other CIS republics have lagged behind Russia somewhat in implementing reform, but after joining the IMF they too will be able to count on Western assistance.

The plan for aid to Russia and the other CIS countries breaks down into four phases in the foreseeable future: their impending membership of the IMF, the coordination of economic reforms with them in May, the "G-7" financing of their balance of payments deficits in June, and, finally, the creation of a ruble stabilization fund this summer.

There have been considerable arguments in the West about whether the billions in aid to Russia and its neighbors will work. Optimists are drawing a historical parallel with the "magnanimous" Marshall Plan, with whose help "the United States saved postwar Europe from communism." The United States granted Europe approximately $12 billion—more than $60 billion at today's prices. The pessimists are not sure that the West's financial efforts will move Russia forward toward prosperity and democracy.

Motivations Examined

PM2204090192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Apr 92 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Golts: "Western Aid Is Nonetheless Aiding the Russian Government, So Far"]

[Text] This week the entire world has received one more confirmation that the era of democracy has nonetheless arrived in Russia. As is proper in a civilized society, the government, having failed to agree with the parliament, has tendered its resignation. It is true that subsequent events—the fright of the people's deputies at the responsibility which descended on them, the hurried adoption of a declaration adding details to the previously adopted resolution, and, finally, conciliation with reservations and suppressed grievances—were all in the spirit of political fuss customary for our time.

This enabled the Swiss newspaper LE NOUVEAU QUOTIDIEN to note not without sarcasm that although "the deputies were able to Americanize their speech, displaying visible pleasure when they used the words 'time out,' 'impeachment,' or 'speaker,' in other respects the Congress is rather reminiscent of an Oriental bazaar." Diplomats avoid sarcastic remarks. You must agree that when, in response to a question about what is happening at the Congress, a U.S. State Department spokesman notes: "The parliamentarians have already voted several times to repeal the results of previous votes so I cannot make any specific statements right now"—that says a lot.

A somewhat skeptical attitude toward the upheavals at the Congress has by no means prevented our Western partners from interfering and doing so quite brutally when the fate of the present Russian government has been in question. As an instrument they used the same $24 billion whose allocation to support the reforms was announced, not without propaganda pomp, in Washington and Bonn on the eve of the Congress.

Literally immediately after the Russian Government had announced its resignation, B. Scowcroft, the U.S. president's national security aide, announced that economic aid to Russia from the United States would be implemented only if the republic's government is devoted to radical reforms and continues their rapid implementation. "If the control of economic policy switches to the hands of the Supreme Soviet," he stressed, "then that policy will probably be less reformist, less radical, than Yeltsin planned."

Scowcroft's colleague, Secretary of the Treasury N. Brady, rushed to Moscow, where he met with Ye. Gaydar. It was stressed again that Western aid is conditional on Russia attaining the goals agreed with the IMF. That is the goals which are set in the memorandum elaborated by the Russian Government. Later Brady told journalists that the Congress' numerous amendments to the government's program of economic reforms were a step backward which could "shake international faith in Russia."

Finally, J. Attali, leader of the European Reconstruction and Development Bank, warned unequivocally that if the economic reforms are frozen the Economic Reconstruction and Development Bank intends to suspend all forms of financial aid to Russia. This pressure—let us call things by their proper names—played by no means the last role in the fact that the ministers retained their posts. Although the fact that the present government remains and the reforms will be continued seems to me to be positive, the means by which the West tried to ensure this make an ambiguous impression. At any rate foreign aid no longer looks like the golden salver which V. Lukin, the Russian ambassador to the United States, urged the deputies not to kick. Now these billions look rather like a carrot with whose aid we are being directed along a specific path. Here questions arise.

Not being an economist, I am ready to believe those who believe that reforms will not work in our country without massive outside aid. But at the same time it is well known that the decision to allocate credits was taken hastily, in order to ensure support for Yeltsin. To ensure

that political will assumes specific economic outlines there are numerous and by no means easy agreements to be made. They will be implemented both inside the donor states and between them. God grant that these agreements are completed by July, as planned.

So far the lack of a specific aid program is providing very broad scope for all kinds of speculation and manipulation with figures. As S. Kondrashov rightly noted in IZVESTIYA, in our country this aid has begun to sprout all kinds of myths. I accept that myths can be used in a political struggle, but is is hardly rational to count on them in economic reform. Gaydar's government now has at its disposal only a statement of good intentions from the West. Under these conditions, should these billions be placed at the top of economic calculations?

At the same time the stance adopted by the West is not without reproach. And here it is not only a case of the protracted debate which preceded the decision to allocate funds. I think that to this day people in the West have not determined what are the final aims of this aid. It is a good thing if it is based on the declared desire to ensure stability on one sixth of the world's land area and to ensure that Russia and the other CIS republics join democracy and the civilized world. The West is thus reliably ensuring its own security. The thrust of this approaches lies in Bush's words to the effect that "the democrats in the Kremlin can guarantee our security far more reliably than nuclear missiles have done."

It is worse if the attainment of goals which have no bearing on economic reforms or the consolidation of stability are being linked with aid. And that is precisely the impression made by, for instance, the Japanese leaders' recent statements. "We intend to render aid together with the other countries of the 'seven,'" Japanese Premier K. Miyazawa noted recently. "But we intend at the same time to urge them to realize that the problem of the 'Northern territories' is a common one for the free world." The newspaper YOMIURI believes that the prime minister thus voiced his intention to urge the countries of the "seven" to understand the position of Tokyo, which believes that the solution of the territorial problem is a preliminary condition for rendering full-scale aid to the CIS. There are no guarantees that aid will not be linked with other aims, about which the West is so far keeping quiet.

As for us, already it is essential to clear any mythological husk away from questions connected with Western credits. If only to make correct and free decisions in our domestic policy.

'Hard Line' Toward CIS States Criticized

MK2204100092 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 22 Apr 92 p 4

[Anatoliy Karpychev commentary report under "Hot Topic" rubric: "Beware of Ambitions"]

[Text] When certain Russian hotheads insist on a "hard-line" formula with respect to the Commonwealth states, this cannot fail to cause concern. What does "hard-line" mean? Diktat and saber rattling? Ultimatums? Recourse to force in disputes?

What if, in response, we are on the receiving end of a "hard line" with respect to Russia? What will we do then? Repeat the path trodden by world history, declare a small "cold war" on the territory of the former Soviet Union?

All this sounds ridiculous, but it is possible... Imperial ambitions may bring many calamities to an already fragile Commonwealth if the disease is not suppressed

This disease is hereditary. But it is curable. It manifests itself when politicians let emotions take the upper hand and lose control of their reason. The regular duels between Ukraine and Russia only whip up passions. Admittedly, President Yeltsin has repeatedly stated in public that Russia has no imperial ambitions, and will not tolerate them, but seemingly President Kravchuk does not really believe these words...

In championing a "hard line" some military people cite the example of the United States: What great guys they are, protecting their citizens in foreign territories by immediately invading those territories. We have around 30 million Russians on the territory of our "immediate neighbors." Life there is not sweet for all of them. But I do not think that any sober-minded person would propose the American option. There are many other forms and methods of resolving disputes. Our diplomacy has already made use of them.

We need to take care of the Commonwealth, yet a "hard line" would only destroy it. There have been many difficulties in establishing the CIS, and misunderstandings occur and people get offended. But it seems to me that all these things are not lethal.

I remember that when the USSR fell apart in December one Western newspaper remarked: "...the end of the Union took place not to the sound of rapturous cries and sobbing but a heavy sigh as the presidents tried to pull back from the edge of the abyss and try out a new path to the future which will not be easy but which will ultimately be life-saving." Alas, some of our politicians who took a deep breath of amazement and hostility have still not breathed out.

Passions are multiplied by the problem of Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet, and the statements made by Ukrainian figures who see the CIS as an instrument of the "divorce proceedings" of the former republics, who will then supposedly leave the Commonwealth. However, there is another viewpoint: The Commonwealth needs to be polished up without violating the basic principle: Everyone is equal and no one should give orders to anyone.

It has already been predicted many times that the Commonwealth would collapse. But it is alive and, it seems to me, is already emerging as a model that may be completely viable. Its essence is to be found in the fact that this model of interaction by the former republics presupposes their complete independence, primarily in the political sphere, and collaboration in spheres that cry out for it. The economy, for example. It seems to me that the fate of the reforms will determine the fate of the CIS. According to Western experts the single economic area has, amazingly, proved to be a unifying factor even in the face of confusion. This advantage, and others, must be utilized.

And as for a "hard line"—it would not be Russia's strength but its weakness...

Federation Affairs

Shakhray To Head Black Sea Fleet Delegation

LD2104213792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The resignation statement of Russian Deputy Premier Shakhray was accepted by Yeltsin. However, Shakhray continues as state adviser for legal policy. Moreover, he has been appointed head of the delegation of Russia at the negotiations with Ukraine on the division of the Black Sea Fleet.

Gaydar Reviews Resignation Attempt, Declaration

PM2204104192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Mikhail Berger: "Declaration As Means of Resolving Crisis"]

[Text] At his first news conference after announcing his resignation, Yegor Gaydar talked about things that are obvious to everyone—the government's resignation was not accepted, and the compromise reached with the adoption of the declaration allows it to continue its work.

By being considerably late for their meeting with the press (a meeting with the Russian president had overrun) the government leaders thereby provided information on two things before even starting to answer questions. First, even though he has not yet taken the rostrum at the Congress to defend his government, Boris Yeltsin still firmly supports it (otherwise why meet for so long?). Second, the authorities still consider this discussion of their internal problems to be more important than their relations with public opinion as represented by the press.

Yegor Gaydar assessed the appearance of the declaration of support for economic reform, which removed the question of the government's resignation from the agenda, as a manifestation of the legislators' wisdom and responsibility. In his opinion, the clause in the declaration to the effect that the Congress instructs the government to elaborate a list of measures for the phased fulfillment of the provisions on the progress of economic reform, taking account of the economic conditions actually prevailing, gives the cabinet room to maneuver. The government sees this as a chance to act in such a way as to avoid the financially destructive consequences of the decision passed by the Congress. It is not ruled out that the parliamentarians think differently and will disagree with the "softer"—if we can put it that way—implementation of their decree.

In any event, saying that the resolution and the declaration are two absolutely complementary documents would be a major exaggeration. But the very possibility of an ambiguous interpretation of these documents and their legal relationship fundamentally alters the situation, allowing the parties to the dispute to backtrack somewhat from their stated positions without losing face.

There is no doubt that the government will be mainly geared to the declaration, which states the Congress' resolve to "continue with the course which is being implemented," while their opponents will check the executive's every step against the "notes" to the resolution, which states something quite different. This is all the more important because the declaration refers to this resolution, and the reference to the Fifth Congress does not remove the vexed question of the introduction of a law on the government, since this resolution by the previous Congress made no mention of such a law.

So which document will be the more important? Declarations, as Gaydar stressed at the news conference, have only been adopted by the current corps of people's deputies on three occasions. The first proclaimed the independence of Russia, the second was on human rights and freedoms, and the third was on support for economic reform. During the debate on the third declaration it was repeatedly stated that this was merely a generalized declaration and could not in legal terms "take precedence over" a specific resolution.

That is probably true, but at the same time it should be remembered that the declaration on sovereignty altered Russia's entire state policy and was the starting point for all subsequent decisions and an excuse for revising many previous decisions. That is, the declaration was like a statement on doctrine in a certain area or a general policy statement which permits different overtones but clearly maps out the overall course. Judging by everything, this interpretation is entirely to the government's liking. The question is whether it will please the legislators, and what will happen if it does not.

Republican Parliamentary Leaders Discuss Treaty

LD1804195892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1916 GMT 18 Apr 92

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—A conference of parliamentary leaders from the republics, integrated in the Russian Federation, as well as heads of local councils of the territories, regions, the autonomous region and autonomous districts, was held today in the Russian House of Soviets.

According to the press centre of the Russian parliament, they discussed problems dealing with the implementation of the Federal Treaty and developments at the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies.

Addressing the conference, Chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov described the signing of the Federal Treaty as a major political event in the life of Russia, which set the beginning of a radical decentralisation of state power.

Participants in the conference exchanged views on the implementation of the Treaty and control over this process.

Poltoranin on Endurance of 'Fourth Power'

LD2204115192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Apr 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference in the Russian press house, Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Poltoranin referred to the congress just held as the Battle of Kursk between presidential and representative power. Poltoranin believes the congress can be considered a success because the dislocation of political forces and the strengths and weaknesses of the course of reform have been determined. The attempt at a civilized coup, in Poltoranin's words, has failed.

The news conference began with a sigh of relief that the congress' attack on the press had not succeeded. Mikhail Poltoranin believes that the fourth power exists in reality. He thinks that in this sense the current goverment has much more to its credit regarding opposition publications than its predecessors. The press minister reported that his department is providing material assistance to the opposition and is generally cultivating it. It is true, in Poltoranin's words, that instead of cultured plants only primitive turnips have emerged so far, but still the opposition's television and radio opportunities will be broadened.

The leaders of both television and radio companies took part in the news conference, although their views on the prospects for the mass media were divided. Oleg Poptsov, head of the Russian channel, believes the Supreme Soviet will continue its fight against the fourth power, but Ostankino head Yegor Yakovlev is more placid—deputies come and go, but the independent press endures, he stated. God grant that it be so.

'Civilized Coup' Attempt Collapsed

LD2204125892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1244 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correpondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—The Sixth Congress of Russian Peoples' Deputies which ended on Tuesday [21 April] was a success as it "strictly defined the 'black holes' where reforms can drown", according to a Russian Deputy Prime Minister.

But the congress failed to blackmail the government and force it to kneel, as well as to "offer to the Russian president the role of the British queen" and to establish unlimited parliamentary authority, Mikhail Poltoranin told reporters on Wednesday. "The attempt of a civilised coup collapsed," he added.

Among the positive results Poltoranin listed the fact that the congress helped unmask people and showed the real balance of forces in Moscow and in the country. "It was the battle under Kursk between the presidential authority, which personifies democracy, and the legislative authority represented by reactionary soviets," he said comparing the struggle at the congress with a major battle of the Second World War. The battle was strategically lost by those who want to force the country to move backwards, the deputy prime minister stressed.

But Poltoranin also criticised the government for lack of systematic approach to the Russian reform process. The adopted measures are not sufficiently interconnected. The congress showed that corrections to the financial and social policy are inevitable and the government would implement them, he added.

Poltoranin said local authorities where they consist of former Communist Party nomenklatura are to blame for economic separatism in the country, but the government also bears its share of responsibility because of mistakes in regional policy. "Having become free from central structures and having created our own managing bodies we failed to completely abandon their style and the desire to hold everything in our hands and we did not yield many rights to the regions," he said.

Poltoranin who is also minister of the press said "no one would be allowed to establish control over mass media, including the ministry of the press which does everything possible to save the 'fourth (branch) of power' from being usurped". The Russian congress charply criticised mass media for presumably "biased coverage" of its sessions and even wanted to include the issue in the agenda, but later abandoned the move.

Faction Calls For Poltoranin's Dismissal

OW1604122392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0957 GMT 16 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [16 April] the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow decided to drop from its agenda the question of media coverage and instructed parliament to check the observation of the law on the media.

The 50 member strong Smena (New Policy) faction called for the dismissal of Mikhail Poltoranin from the posts of Vice-Premier and Minister of the Press and the Media. A declaration of the faction which belongs to the centrist coalition Constructive Forces also demands a decision to immediately stop select government financial support to loyal newspapers.

New Policy suggests starting a publication that would act as the mouthpiece of deputies under the old name of "Notes of Soviets of People's Deputies" ("Izvestiya"). It insists on giving 15 minutes of live air on national and local television daily to deputies and calls for organizing a parliamentary radio station "by using part of the equipment released in connection with the closure of the radio foreign service and the reduction of radio Mayak broadcasts."

Army Functions Viewed in Political Context

LD2204083192

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0730 GMT on 19 April carries the "Aty-Baty Army Program", a 25-minute magazine-format review of military affairs hosted by an unidentified correspondent.

The program opens with on-the-street interviews with uniformed army personnel who discuss their views of the current political environment and the state of the armed forces. As video shows military equipment on exercise, an unidentifed narrator says that the state of the army has been execerbated by the political situation. Russia was slow to take steps toward establishing a republican army, the narrator remarks, as the program cuts to a news conference at an unidentifed location on an unspecified date. Video shows defense advisor Dmitriy Volkogonov speaking in progress at the news conference.

Volkogonov says "...draft a brief initial organizational blueprint which may be refined in the future. It is based on conclusions reached by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, which twice has considered the issue of military policy. It is an important document associated with the need to prepare a structural plan regarding the functions and structure of the Russian defense ministry. Finally, there is the draft decree of the president of the Russian Federation, which will build the foundation for the existence of independent Russian armed forces, part of which will evidently be allotted by special decision to general functions or strategic functions and placed under the jurisdiction of CIS troops.

"There have been several views on this problem. I have read a number of articles in the press on this in which the commission which has only just started its work is accused of every deadly sin. One of the ideas is that the Russian army, Russian fleet and defense ministry should begin to be organized from scratch. A group should be set up and certain structures will then emerge and develop around it, and that the Russian army should be created in that manner. These people don't understand very well, because we already have existing infrastructures and control points that cost billions of rubles. If we now set up some kind of parallel structures to those that already exist, operating and controlling the military system, this will foster poor coordination and a duality of military power, which is extremely dangerous."

The narrator says that the Russian armed forces lack a military doctrine, rules and plans. As video shows an unidentifed meeting, the narrator asks: "Who knows, won't this commission go the way of the previous one which Dmitriy Volkogonov headed?"

Following further on-the-street interviews with uniformed military personnel and additonal video of military equipment, the program moves to an interview with a uniformed officer who introduces himself as Lieutenant Colonel Stanislav Nikolayevich Terekhov. At the unidientifed correspondent's prompting, Terekhov says he is the "chairman of the Union of Officers, a socio-political club", with a membership of "several thousand people throughout Russia" and "several hundred people in Moscow".

The correspondent asks: "What is the difference between your union's program and the program of the military committee?" Terekhov answers: "First, one should see a program from the military committee to know it. So far, we have not seen a program. There is a program for a day or two, or for a week. Today, it was drawn up to suit this situation. Tomorrow, with a change in the situation, the program starts to change very dramatically, not the program but simply the stand of the main military committee. At first Shaposhnikov favored the unified armed forces. It was a month and a half or two ago. Kravchuk and all the other leaders started to change this position, their own position, speeding up the break up process. Naturally, he started to change his position, speeding up the process of the break up of the armed forces. But he said that if the break up of the armed forces took place, he would resign from his post. Did he go anywhere? He did not.

"Why is our program different? We held a roundtable discussion, we held a scientific and practical conference where we worked out conceptual foundations for the organization of the army as we see them. Recently, the

government got together several organizations, I think about 15 of them, similar to ours. We were not invited there."

Terekhov continues, noting that "although we are a young organization, only two months old, we were the first to register. We have already made our presence felt. We have outlined our aims and tasks. Why not invite us? Accordingly, we give as good as we get. If those structures block us, how can we cooperate with them, although we are prepared to cooperate. We are constantly coming up against a brick wall."

Asked by the correspondent to define patriotism, Terekhov says: "Conventionally, in its classical version, it is love for the fatherland and for the motherland. We proceed from the following fact: The state was ruined. We regard it as a mighty state, although, with defects and shortcomings, and whatever have you. It was ruined very successfully in an instance. If the army is ruined with the same success, practically in an instance, with an avalanche effect, then everything else will be ruined just as successfully. So, where would we find ourselves? Naturally, we would not be talking about patriotism. So, we say that a state's idea of patriotism is a mighty and strong state. Let it be Russia. Although, we go further, Russia must be a part of the union with republics, those republics which want to be a part of the union with her. If the Baltics do not want it, let them be. If Georgia does not want it, it should go wherever it pleases. But we will put them in circumstances that give them pause for thought before doing this."

The program next presents an interview with Galina Starovoytova. Starovoytova remarks: "When the army is not under civilian control it is a completely ungovernable force which could play the role of Latin American juntas: support some coup and some putschists. I don't at all want to cast aspersions on all military men, I know that many honorable, hardworking and very educated people are among them. But, in the army, after all, it's often a question of simply having to obey an order, without thinking about whether the order is right and legitimate or not. On the part of the mid-ranking and senior military, we often see some very strange things being done and said, and strange opinions expressed. Today, without a serious military doctrine and serious civilian control of the army, we are putting all of society at risk."

The unidentifed interviewer asks Starovoytova: "So, you feel the defense minister ought to be a civilian?" Starovoytova responds: "It would be desirable, yes." The interviewer comments: "But, he too, by virtue of his duties and the specifics of his work, is going to have to issue orders. Actually, everything will revert to what it was before. He's the one who will be in charge, regardless of who gives the orders, a military man, a general or a civilian." Starovoytova counters: "All the same, it's of great importance, both psychologically and legally. Then the orders could be different."

At this point, the program returns to the Terekhov interview. Terekhov says: "The creation of a Russian army is a normal process, but again I see that not as final result, but as the prospect for a Russian army. If we're talking about a federal, union state, on a voluntary basis, naturally, then the army, too, must be part of those states."

The interviewer asks Terekhov: "Do your union and your officers have any hope that the present government, the present Supreme Soviet and the president, will somehow change the situation for the better in the near future?"

Terekhov answers: "It is 100 percent certain that the government won't bring about any clear change. The likes of Burbulis, Gaydar, Shakhray, etc.—I'm mentioning them directly by name—have come into their own when there has been something to destroy. But they've done nothing at all when it's been a question of creating something. The Supreme Soviet also has its faults, but there are people in it - I'm talking even about the deputies, not confining it at all to the Supreme Soviet, but the people's deputies. I won't name names, but there are enough of these people who could be given a chance to show what they can do, in state posts, vested with a certain responsibility and given rights and duties. Much could accordingly be expected of them. They will be capable of doing ten times as much as those we've got at present."

Video then cuts to Starovoytova, who says: "At the moment we see ultimatums everyewhere. For some reason, people in civilian clothes are beginning to be afraid and tremble at the sight of...well, just remember the officers' assembly and the way many of the civilians who were there were apprehensive about that enormous mass of men in military uniforms. In my view, this cannot be tolerated, anywhere or in any circumstances. If an armed officer says he doesn't share the policy of parliament, doesn't agree with the government and doesn't accept an order, it's his own private affair. But he must be immediately disarmed. Or such a unit must be immediately disbanded, and only then can they be dealt with."

The program returns to the Terekhov interview, who remarks: "Policy needs to be completely changed, of course. Strange though it is and blasphemous though it may sound, this situation where anything goes and where there is total anarchy, which is how I see democracy so far, and the things that are happening around us, won't achieve anything in these circumstances. A tough regime needs to be brought in - an emergency regime, one might say."

Following additional on-the-street interviews with uniformed military personnel, focusing on the issue of service members seeking employment in civilian enterprises, the program returned to the interview with Starovoytova. The interviewer asks: "Would you agree to be the Russian defense minister?"

Starovoytova answers: "No, I wouldn't agree. I'd like to deny the stories that have appeared, even in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, a newspaper I respect. This has never been officially proposed to me and I have never stated otherwise. It's another matter that there was a group of military men, and they're still there, indeed, they're here in this conference room, who have supported this idea. I agreed to play the role of scarecrow for the military extremists, to frighten them with my skirt so that they will now be willing to accept a civilian male. That is the role I played. I think it was a very useful discussion for the purpose of changing public awareness. Our society has for the first time become aware of the possibility that not just a civilian, but a woman, can be appointed to this post, as happens in Finland, as has happened with the chief of intelligence in Britain, where a woman is doing the job very successfully.. So it has left its mark."

The program concludes with a song.

Social Protection for Troops Encouraged

LD2004115692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0843 GMT 20 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The Council of Officers' Assemblies of the Northwestern group of troops and naval forces, which are under the jurisdiction of Russia, has urged the 6th Congress of People's Deputies, currently under way here, to adopt a legislative act "providing a legal basis for the social protection of servicemen slated for withdrawal from the Baltic republics. The text of the appeal was distributed today among congress deputies.

It describes the situation in places where Russian troops are now being deployed on the territories of former Baltic Soviet republics as "critical". It cites concrete facts of discrimination against them and cases when their rights were grossly violated in Latvia and Lithuania.

"The officers are in a resolute mood, believing that our Army's honour is tantamount to the honour of the Russian people, who will not forgive any humiliation or insult inflicted upon their sons," the appeal says. At the same time, its authors express concern about the "grave consequences that may be produced" by their actions," characteristic of any Army".

Calling for a political settlement of this acute problem, the officers urge the congress to "decide the procedure, deadlines and stages of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic area, to put an end to various speculations and uncertainties in this all-national matter of vital importance for our future".

Church Role Eyed in Solving Regional Conflicts

OW2104190692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1553 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia and the Minister of the Russian Foreign Ministry Andrey Kozyrev was held in Moscow April 21.

The information department of the Russian Foreign Ministry told "IF" [INTERFAX] that the two discussed issues on the peace-making mission of the church in the Armenian-Azeri and Dniester region conflicts. Andrey Kozyrev highly praised the stabilizing role the church can play in the national conflicts.

Patriarch Alexey expressed concern that all the efforts aimed at settling the military confrontation in Nagorno-Karabakh and Moldova are in vain. He stated that he intends to take a more active participation in solving these problems in the near future.

Favorable conditions for a successful accomplishment of the peace-making mission are attributed to the Patriarch's friendly relations with Catholics of Armenia and the Head of the Azeri Muslims.

Satellite Launch, Yeltsin Visit Postponed

LD2204072492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0706 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Yuriy Konorov]

[Text] Plesetsk Cosmodrome, 22 Apr—The launch of the artificial earth satellite in the series "Resurs F-2" planned for 23 April has been postponed. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by specialists at the Plesetsk Cosmodrome that owing to difficulties connected with ensuring the safety of people living in the zones where the third stage of the carrier-rocket was due to fall, the launching of the satellite could not be carried out earlier than 29 April. The visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the northern cosmodrome which had been timed for the launching of the satellite has also been postponed.

Supreme Soviet

Disagreement With Yeltsin Decree on Wages Cited

LD1804153492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1414 GMT 18 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Mikolay Zheleznov and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—The Russian parliament has postponed until Monday [20 April] the discussion of the draft law on raising the minimum wages of workers of budget-financed sectors. A joint session of the two chambers of the parliament, convened in the Kremlin

today during a break in the work of the Congress of People's Deputies, did not agree with the date for putting into effect the recently signed decree, suggested by the president.

According to the decree, wages of workers of the budget-financed sector will be increased by 1.8 times starting from May 1 and will be no smaller than 900 rubles a month. The parliament believes, however, that the raising of wages in that sector will require considerable expenditures, some 44 billion rubles a month.

The presidential decree assigns the Ministry of Finance to determine the order and sources of financing the expenditures on wage increase. Taking into account that the solution of this problem will affect the budget of the second quarter and the annual budget in general, the parliament is going to suggest to the government that it should prepare its own proposals concerning the order and sources of financing the additional expenditures.

It will become clear on Monday in what way this problem will be settled. At present only one thing is known: the parliamentary commissions believe it would be more reasonable to increase wages of workers of the budget-financed sector not on May 1, but on June 1. In their opinion, the law should come into force simultaneously all over Russia, which will require some time.

It was suggested that the minimum pensions for old age should be made equal to minimum wages also on June 1.

Law on Pension, Wages Passed

LD2104132292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1203 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—The minimum old-age pension will beginning 1 May be equal to 900 rubles per month. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation decided this at today's session, held in the Kremlin in the interval between sessions of the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies. The minimum wage for workers in establishments and organizations financed from budget sources will also amount to 900 rubles. This legislative provision will come into force in the second quarter of this year.

As far as enterprises and institutions in the non-budgetary sphere are concerned, according to the law passed today, the provision there for a minumum wage will be brought in as these enterprises and institutions find their own resources for these purposes. One other subtlety of the adopted legislative act is that additional payments and allowances and also bonuses and other incentive payments are not included in the minumum wage.

The Supreme Soviet instructed the Russian Federation Government, by 15 May, to prepare proposals on the procedure and sources for financing expenditure resulting from the increase in worker's pay in the budgetary sphere and to present them for parliamentary examination.

Commission Sees Rallies Ban Unnecessary

LD2104164592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1206 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—The Moscow authorities had no reason to prohibit rallies and marches on February 23 in Moscow. Such is the almost unanimous opinion of members of the parliamentary commission that investigated the events of February 23. This opinion was set out in the press centre of the Sixth Congress of Russian People's Deputies today.

The parliamentary commission headed by people's deputy Yuriy Yudin included representatives of almost all parliamentary groups. The commission has not yet made the official conclusion but it summed up the preliminary results of the investigation whose purpose was to assess what happened from the viewpoint of law.

Deciding to ban the rallies, the Moscow government had no trustworthy information, but proceeded from rumours, the commission's chairman said. On the whole, the government "showed its inability to cooperate with the population". "If the Moscow government wanted the functions to pass without incidents, the way out would have been found", he said.

Yudin said that 21 militiamen and more than 70 civilians were injured when a rally, held on the day of the defender of the Fatherland, was dispersed. Members of the commission who watched several tape-recordings said truncheons had been used by militiamen in response to agressive actions of demonstrators.

Supreme Soviet In Recess Until Mid-May

LD2204091892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0832 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 22—The parliamentary recess to last till mid-May was announced at the fourth session of the Russian parliament.

The press centre of the Russian parliament said the presidium of the parliament will meet next Thursday [30 April] to discuss the results of the past congress.

Regional Affairs

Suspected Chechen Coup Supporters Removed

OW2104141692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1329 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev has removed a number of security and internal affairs top-ranking officials from their posts. Dudayev's decrees say that these people, among them the deputy-minister for security, the chief of the Groznyy Internal Affairs Department and a number of economic administrators are suspected of maintaining contacts with the organizers of the attempted coup on March 31.

Dudayev has instructed the Cabinet and the leaders of the ministries and departments to dismiss people involved in the attempted coup. The list of those to be dismissed will be made by the Chechen Republic's Investigation Committee.

Dudayev 'Will Meet Force With Force'

PM2104145092 Madrid ABC in Spanish 12 Apr 92 p 37

[Interview with Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev by Alberto Sotillo; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] [Sotillo] Can there be any kind of agreement with the opposition, which tried to take over the television service a few weeks ago?

[Dudayev] We will meet force with force, because we very much fear a recurrence of the terrorist actions instigated by Moscow.

[Sotillo] What interests does the opposition serve?

[Dudayev] Personal interests, which seek to regain lost privileges, to seize power, and to maintain the Communist Party mafia. And the colonialist interests of Russia, to whose yoke it has submitted.

[Sotillo] How will you defend your independence?

[Dudayev] God gave us our independence. As no other people in the past 200 years, ours expect victory in a terrible war.

[Sotillo] In previous wars Checheniya was the first to bring the other peoples of the northern Caucasus into the independence struggle. Would the same happen now?

[Dudayev] We have formed a battalion of peoples of the northern Caucasus. But the basic factor in this struggle is religion. The only force that can defeat Russia's provocations is Islam. We have formed the Caucasian Islamic Center, which is based here and which also embraces Azerbaijan.

[Sotillo] Does this Islamic Center have any political substance?

[Dudayev] We cannot avoid granting some power to the religious leaders.

[Sotillo] Nevertheless, the other northern Caucasian republics are maintaining a very calm position.

[Dudayev] They are remaining silent because they are monitoring the situation and support Checheniya's efforts. They are waiting for the right time. There will be a confederation of the northern Caucasus.

[Sotillo] Do you think that Checheniya can survive economically if Russia tries to wage war on you in this field?

[Dudayev] We are not merely surviving; our economy is developing and flourishing. They have maintained a blockade against us for over a year, but nevertheless things are going better for us than for the Russians...But if Russia resorts to terrorism...we will proceed resolutely.

[Sotillo] Do you mean that you do not reject terrorism, either?

[Dudayev] We will pursue our path without stooping to Russia's level.... But only until the critical point, beyond which, when the time comes, we will plan a surprise that will astonish the whole world.

[Sotillo] What is your connection with Gamsakhurdia?

[Dudayev] He is the president of Georgia, legally elected, but never accepted by the powerful people of Russia, who have mobilized a handful of criminals in the civil war. Now Georgia is about to disintegrate as a country, and Shevardnadze could find himself left with only his own gang. What would the outcome be then? Obviously, if Georgia disappears, the main victor in the dispute between Iran and Turkey over this area would be Iran, which would extend its influence through Azerbaijan. This would be the outcome of Shevardnadze's policy.

[Sotillo] Would you be prepared to give Gamsakhurdia armed support?

[Dudayev] We would give it if it were requested by the legal Georgian government represented by Gamsakhurdia.

[Sotillo] Do you think that the Chechens in Russia deserve their reputation as mafiosi?

[Dudayev] The Chechens constitute a united, intelligent, and heroic force. Our only crime is that God gave us the Caucasus. They wanted to destroy us in order to gain this land, but since they were unable to do so, Russia made it a land of nomads with a criminal reputation to whom all rights have been denied. But there is no greater democracy in the world than that of our people. Even a report by the tsar's governor in the Caucasus acknowledges that the Chechen language has no word for "to order" or "to command."

Possible Emergence of Pan-Caucasian Bloc Eyed

MK2104110192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 92 p 3

[Timur Muzayev report under "Chechen Republic" rubric: "New Geopolitical Bloc in Caucasus? Azerbaijani-Chechen Accord as 'Locomotive' of Pan-Caucasus Idea"]

[Text] During the recent visit to Checheniya by a delegation of Islamic figures from Azerbaijan headed by leader of the Muslims of Transcaucasia Sheykh-Ul-Islam Allakhshukyur Pasha-zade there took shape the outlines of a new geopolitical bloc in the Caucasus. In a conversation with President Dzhakhar Dudayev Mufti Pasha-zade drew the Chechen leader's attention to the danger of an offensive on the part of the combined forces of the Christian world which, in his opinion, is threatening the Islamic world. Agreeing with the mufti's statement, General Dudayev stressed that the imperial leadership of Russia is the chief conduit for anti-Islamic aggression. The president of Checheniya noted that in this respect Russia's policy merges with the policy of the Western powers which, in the words of the president, are "fueling" the situation. Both the mufti and the general remarked on the need to unite all Caucasian Muslims to counter the external threat. "This would be the force," Dudayev said, "capable of resisting the ideology which is being imported here. This would be a mighty force withstanding any pressure from outside."

Attention is above all drawn by the new accentuations in recent speeches by Dudayev. While the anti-Russian rhetoric has now become customary, the sharp criticism of the Western powers testifies to new trends in the political line of the Chechen leadership. Clearly, aware of the unrealistic nature of calculations that the countries of the West would recognize Checheniya, the Chechen leaders have resolved to bank heavily on the Islamic regimes of the East, which in the religious, geopolitical, and socioeconomic respects are much closer to the republics of the Transcaucasus than the Western democracies are. In circumstances in which the ruling circles of Iran and Turkey are trying, not without success, to extend their influence to the Muslim republics of the former USSR, an eastward orientation evidently promises excellent prospects for a sovereign Checheniya. Dudayev and his entourage are also pinning definite hopes on support from those Arab states which are home to more or less influential groups of the Caucasian diaspora. It is precisely the merging of the "center of orientation" that explains both the intensified penetration of the Muslim ritual into the official ceremonies of the Chechen authorities and their creeping irritation at the "perfidy of the West."

An extremely important point in Gen. Dudayev's conversation with Mufti Pasha-zade was the clearly expressed desire of both sides for the unification of the Caucasian republics with a view to creating a powerful pan-Caucasian union.

The recent active contacts between Azerbaijan and Checheniya may well signal the next stage in the development of the pan-Caucasian idea, this time in the form of an Azerbaijani-Chechen alliance in which a considerable part would be played by the Islamic factor. Both sides are noticeably interested in forming links of this sort: Azerbaijan needs support from the highlanders of the North Caucasus in resolving the Karabakh problem, while in its turn the Chechen leadership is hoping to break the diplomatic blockade and thereby push the Russian Federation authorities into recognizing the Chechen Republic. And although right now the formation of a pan-Caucasus state union appears unlikely because of the acute contradictions among the peoples of the Caucasus, the emerging Azerbaijan-Chechen accord will possibly become the factor which noticeably alters the disposition of forces in the region.

Tatarstan Public Prosecutor Warns 'Ittifak'

OW2104164992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The public prosecutor's office of Tatarstan warned the national party "Ittifak" that it will be held legally responsible if it interferes with government and law enforcement structures of the republic.

The public prosecutor's statement stresses that "Ittifak's" demands to immediately transfer the law enforcement bodies to the jurisdiction of Tatarstan are impossible as this step can be taken "only after an interparliamentary agreement is signed with the Russian Federation". The public prosecutor's office will supervise the enforcement of Russian Federation laws as there are institutions in Tatarstan which are still under Russia's jurisdiction.

The statement said that "Ittifak's" claims to the law enforcement bodies are nothing other than "the desire to amass political clout as savior of the nation and homeland". The public prosecutor's office stresses that the party granted itself the the right to deliver the Tatar government ultimatums and dictates. The party's promise to bring the people to the streets to defend the sovereignty of the republic was assessed by the public prosecutor as an ambitious attempt to come into the political arena "throw a bone of contention between the people and create a tense situation in the republic".

Tatarstan Talks With Russia Proposed

OW2104164792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tatar presidential adviser, member of the working group at talks with Russia Rafael Khakimov believes that Tatarstan's dialogue with Russia "came to a standstill" over the main question of guaranteeing Tatarstan's

sovereignty. If Russia does not pass a law on this, talks with Tatarstan will have "the appearance of a seminar". Another member of the working group Professor Ildus Tagirov said that the parliament and President of Tatarstan, having received the mandate of the people for a sovereign state, must legally establish the right of a sovereign state for the republic.

Tagirov said "It is important to remember that rights are supreme, and powers stemming from these rights are secondary. Powers can be transferred or revoked, but rights remain".

Tagirov said that this also includes the principle difference of the version of relations with the federal organs proposed by Tatarstan. The Federative Treaty reserves rights for the center, but powers can be given to the subjects of the federation, Tagirov said. The Congress and Supreme Soviet of Russia can recall them at any moment by a majority vote, Tagirov said.

Yakut President Cited on Economic Development

PM2104120992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Apr 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Nagayev: "20 Percent Is Enough. For the Time Being"]

[Text] "So far we do not intend to review the proportion of diamonds and other minerals handed over to the federal center and kept for ourselves," Mikhail Nikolayev, president of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), said at a news conference in the Kremlin. "In principle we (in contrast to Tatarstan) prefer economic independence to political independence."

As is well known, on 31 March this year the Russian Government in the shape of Yeltsin and the Yakut leadership (M. Nikolayev) signed an agreement whereby about 20 percent of the gem diamonds mined on this territory remain in the possession of the local authorities. As for industrial diamonds, they are entirely in Yakutia's possession. Yet the resources of the subterranean depths of the Sakha Republic are far from restricted to diamonds and gold. Right now a number of plans are being finalized for the expansion of the sale of other minerals abroad. In particular Yakutia intends to conclude contracts for large deliveries of natural gas to Japan and the Republic of Korea.

M. Nikolayev noted that the republic is paying close attention to the social problems of the indigenous population and the people who have come here from other republics of the former Union. The Yakut president recalled that they now have the highest pension (a minimum of 1,260 rubles). But Sakha does not intend to sell immediately absolutely all the material potential which has been discovered. The republic's leadership considers it essential to keep something for future generals: Thus, for instance, next year a local diamond and gold fund will be created.

Tula Proposes To Offer Gorbachev Post

LD2104131992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0831 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Rudenko]

[Text] Tula April 21—The Tula Committee for support to Boris Yeltsin's policies has offered to Mikhail Gorbachev to become the governor of Tula Province. Members of the committee appealed to the Russian president to conduct elections to the post of province's governor as an experiment and proposed the former leader of the now defunct Soviet Union as a candidate in the elections. Truly speaking, Mikhail Gorbachev is himself not aware of these plans of Tula residents. A letter along with an invitation to visit Tula for a meeting with the public was forwarded to him today by the regional organization of the Social-Democratic Party.

Vologda Workers Demand Higher Meat Prices

PM2204091692 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Apr 92 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "News" rubric: "Vologda Goes on Diet"]

[Text] The Vologda agrarian workers' strike committee has decided to suspend supplies of meat and milk to Vologda and other cities in the oblast. Rural representatives are demanding increases in the purchase price of meat (live weight) and milk to 35 rubles [R] and R10 respectively. Only then will it be possible to raise wages to R1,500, which is, in the strike committee's opinion, the most admissible financial level. Agrarian workers agree to make allowances for children's establishments and hospitals alone, but for them too milk will only be issued at R10.

Jewish Oblast Farmers Arm Themselves

PM2204085292 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Peasants Defend Themselves"]

[Text] Permission to acquire smooth-barreled firearms has started to be given to private farmers in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast.

They are being forced to arm themselves by the need to defend their property from thieves and robbers.

For the same reason self-defense detachments have started operating in the villages of Altay's Novichikhinskiy Rayon.

International Affairs

Delegation Departs for Black Sea Fleet Talks

AU2104143292 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] On 22 April, an official delegation of Ukraine will leave for Odessa to take part in negotiations with the Russian side on the division of the former Soviet Union's Black Sea Fleet. The delegation is composed of 15 people. They are representatives of President Leonid Kravchuk and of the national parliament and members of the government, in particular, the ministers of foreign affairs and of defense.

Our delegation is led by Vasil Durdinets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council.

Foreign Ministry Urges Dniester Cease-Fire

LD2104131592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev April 21 TASS—The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry made a statement here today, calling on the warring sides in the Dniester region to ensure cease-fire there.

Despite the agreement on immediate and complete cease-fire, reached by foreign ministers from Moldova, the Russian Federation, Romania and Ukraine this April, it has been violated more than once, says the statement.

The sides are increasingly using heavy armament - mortars, air defence launchers and Alazan missiles, which hampers the peaceful political settlement, endangers the results of efforts made by the four states and is fraught with further escalation of combat operations.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry called on the warring sides to immediately investigate any facts of violations of the reached agreements and severely punish those guilty.

Deputy Minister Lists Diplomatic Priorities

AU2104164792 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Mykola Makarevych, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, pointed out in an interview given to a correspondent of URYADOVYY KURYER that about 30 countries have been selected as priority ones where Ukrainian missions will be opened first. They are, in particular, the United States, France, Great Britain, Canada, Israel, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Bulgaria, and others.

Ukraine's ambassadors to the former Soviet republics will be appointed to Russia, Byelarus, the Baltic countries, and Moldova. However, our embassies will not appear in all the countries of the Commonwealth, because Ukraine is short of financial means.

Plyushch Receives Visiting Australian Delegation

LD2104213292 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] A delegation from the Parliament of Australia headed by the chairman of the committee on industry of the House of Representatives, Michael Lee, is paying a working visit to Kiev.

On 20th April the delegation was received by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Ivan Plyushch. Sincere talks took place during which the guests were familiarized with the activity of the present composition of our country's parliament, the most important acts and laws adopted in this period.

Upon the request of the Australian guests, notable attention was given to problems pertaining to the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet asked the members of the delegation to pass over the gratitude of the Ukrainian people to the people of Australia for their assistance rendered to the Chernobyl victims. The guests assured that Australia will continue to take part in eliminating the consequences of this terrible accident.

Kravchuk Meets Delegation

LD2104200792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1623 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Alexey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev April 21 TASS—"Although geographically Australia is far from us, its relations with Ukraine have recently been consolidating and it becomes closer," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told an Australian parliamentary delegation.

The delegation, headed by Chairman of the House of Representatives' Commission on Industry Michael Lee, is currently on a three-day visit to Ukraine. It has previously met Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch, Vice-Premier Vladimir Lanov and Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

Kravchuk informed the Australian visitors on the current political and economic situation in Ukraine.

Asked about the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from republican territory, he said Ukraine has not changed its course towards becoming a non-nuclear state but it needs Western assistance and control in this issue.

As for strategic nuclear arms, it calls for signing an agreement with CIS nuclear states—Russia, Byelarus and Kazakhstan—on the reduction and elimination of nuclear potentials.

Speaking of relations with Russia, the Ukrainian president said Ukraine does not territorial claims to it. "However, certain Russian leaders from time to time lay these claims, which is very dangerous. It alarms the Ukrainian people, who fear Ukraine may become unprotected as nuclear disarmament goes on," he said.

"As for the Black Sea Fleet, Ukraine does not lay claims on the whole of it. Still, having a 1,100-kilometer sea border, Ukraine cannot do without its own fleet. Ukrainian and Russian delegations will soon have a meeting on this issue in Odessa. This meeting is expected to clarify the situation," said Leonid Kravchuk.

National Affairs

Kravchuk's Appeal on Crimean Question 'Unique'

PM2104161592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Sergey Tsikora report: "Ukraine President Considers Referendum Tragic Path to Division of Crimea"]

[Text] Kiev—Political events outside Ukraine and the economic situation within it have given President L. Kravchuk cause for a major clarification with Crimeans and members of the republic's government.

The appeal to the population of the Crimea, political forces, and people's deputies at all levels was broadcast on Ukrainian Radio as the Congress of Russian People's Deputies was discussing the question of the Federation's mutual relations with Commonwealth states. And although the text did not directly connect these two events, the Kiev document reflects word for word Ukraine's attitude to what was said at the Congress.

Certain irresponsible forces, the appeal says, including separatist parliamentarians, with substantial financial support of certain financial and other structures are trying at all costs to destabilize the situation and drive a wedge between people of the Crimea, the Republic of Crimea, and Ukraine. Preparations are underway for a referendum which, in the opinion of its organizers, should be a basis for the revision of Ukraine's territory, and this contravenes its Constitution, the Helsinki accords, and the Paris Charter. The time has come when silence or indecision can be qualified as a desire to absolve oneself of all responsibility for the situation.

The greatest responsibility for possible consequences in the Crimea, and not only there, the appeal goes on to say, is borne by deputies of the Crimean Supreme Soviet, including responsibility for encouraging the referendum. The referendum is a tragic path to the division of the Crimea.

The Crimea's economy is developing as an integral part of the Ukrainian economy. The following facts demonstrate that: Around 75 percent of the industrial output received in the Crimea comes from oblasts of Ukraine, and for electricity that figure is 85 percent.

The appeal stresses that any encroachments on Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty will be viewed by the Supreme Soviet, the president, and the government of Ukraine and all the civilized world as a crude violation of the status quo in Europe and of international norms and agreements. I would like to stress, the document signed by the Ukrainian President goes on to say, that I will never sit down at the negotiating table if anyone wants to make the partition of Ukrainian territory the subject of those talks. But unfortunately there are still people around who want that. The Ukrainian President appealed to Crimeans to display state wisdom and restraint and a high civic responsibility for the fate of this beautiful region.

It should be noted that L. Kravchuk has never before expressed such appeals to Crimeans. This document is unique both in terms of the precision with which it records the situation and in the severity of its assessments. It seems that the president is switching to resolute actions. The fact that he is not talking idly now is demonstrated by recent events in the Cabinet of Ministers where the first deputy finance minister, the deputy economics minister, and the first deputy labor minister were dismissed for an irresponsible attitude to his instructions.

Kravchuk 'Threatened the Whip'

LD2104230192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] The threat of the separation of the Crimea continues to remain a headache for the Ukrainian leadership. Viktor Alekseyev reports from Kiev:

[Alekseyev] After the successful completion of the campaign to collect signatures for a referendum on independence, the positions of the republican Krym [Crimea] Movement look very strong. The reaction of official Kiev to the intensification of the separatist mood on the peninsula was the appeal by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk to people's deputies at all levels, to political forces, and to the population in the Crimean republic.

At the very beginning of the appeal the blame for the exacerbation of the situation is laid, I quote, on: certain irresponsible forces among whom individual separatist-minded parliamentarians have found themselves, acting with financial support from certain commercial and other structures to please their own mercenary interests.

Kravchuk is clearly striving to convince the people in Crimea that staying within the composition of Ukraine is beneficial first and foremost for them. The president's main argument is the extremely high degree of integration of the peninsula's economy into Ukraine's entire economy. The Crimea depends 85 percent on deliveries of electricity from Ukraine and 75 percent on deliveries of industrial output. At world prices the cost of Dnepr water which is brought in exceeds two billion dollars a year. The economic consequences of Crimean separation would be catastrophic.

In that event existing economic relations would turn from being internal to being interstate relations with a transfer to different forms of ties while preserving equivalence of exchange, said Kravchuk. His words, if you wish, can be seen as a veiled threat to introduce economic sanctions against the disobedient Crimea.

Having threatened the whip, Ukraine's president did not omit to also offer a carrot: He expressed readiness to give the widest rights of self-management with the condition that the process will be constitutional, that is, the Crimea must remain within the composition of Ukraine.

Apart from that, the president refuted rumors about a forthcoming forcible Ukrainianization.

The appearance of such a document demonstrates Ukraine's weakness in the Crimean question. It cannot set off the growing movement for independence with anything other than wordy and hazy promises expressed in general phrases.

Deputy Defense Minister Bizhan Interviewed

PM2104123192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Apr 92 p 2

[Interview with Ukrainian Deputy Defense Minister Ivan Bizhan by Colonel A. Polyakov, date and place not given: "Each Makes His Own Choice... Ten Questions to Lieutenant General Ivan Bizhan, Ukrainian Deputy Defense Minister"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Ukraine, like some other CIS member states, is forming its own Armed Forces. Leaders and defense ministers of CIS states have already commented a number of times on military organizational development questions in our newspaper. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA intends to continue this line now. Today it is the turn of Ukraine's representative.

From the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA file. Lt. Gen. I. Bizhan was born in Vinnitsa Oblast in 1941. He graduated from military college and from the Academies of Armored Troops and of the General Staff. He rose through all the levels of service from platoon commander to army commander in Sverdlovsk. He was deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Main Directorate. On 24 December 1991 he was appointed Ukraine's deputy defense minister.

[Polyakov] Ivan Vasilyevich, let me begin with the main question: What is the present stage of the organizational development of Ukraine's Armed Forces?

[Bizhan] Ukraine's right to have its own Armed Forces is stipulated in the Declaration on State Sovereignty. A good legislative basis for their creation was laid in 1991. Nevertheless, Ukraine has not begun the actual organizational development of the Armed Forces. It was not until the agreement between the CIS heads of state was concluded in Minsk that three military districts were transferred to the Ukraine Defense Ministry's jurisdiction. The Odessa and Carpathian military districts will be replaced by operational commands while the Main Staff of the Ukraine Armed Forces and the Defense Ministry will be created on the basis of the Kiev Military District staff.

[Polyakov] As you know, for many people Ukraine's "appetite" for creating its Armed Forces was quite a surprise. Some time ago it was a question of a small army but now Ukraine has taken a vast troop grouping under its jurisdiction, has it not?

[Bizhan] I cannot agree that Ukraine has shown an unexpected appetite or is expressing any arrogance. Its leadership and Defense Ministry are taking a purely legal path. Some people are talking about a large troop grouping in Ukraine. But why do they ignore the fact that the Western Group of Forces alone is more powerful than the three "Ukrainian" districts? The Westeren Group of Forces is being transferred virtually in its entirety to Russia. Why should Ukraine have a "token" army? If Armed Forces need to be created they should be such as will guarantee the country's state independence.

[Polyakov] You mentioned the troops who are being withdrawn to Russia from East Europe. But training centers and test ranges must be created for them and they must be equipped. There is virtually nothing like that in Russia's western sector. The border remains open...

[Bizhan] But I cannot accept that Russia or other CIS countries should have their own groupings in Ukraine to defend their own interests. Ukraine belongs to the CIS, the state leaders agreed that the border between Russia and Ukraine remains "transparent" and that links between them shall not be severed. If Russia is concerned about a threat from the West then that potential danger exists for Ukraine, too. But times have changed now. Ukraine has stated more than once that it seeks the status of a non-nuclear, non-bloc, neutral state. Its Armed Forces will perform defensive functions alone.

[Polyakov] At the recent meeting of expert groups coordinating the list of units belonging to the Strategic Forces agreement was not reached and a certain strain or tension was felt among the participants in the talks. You disagreed with the proposals of the CIS Joint Armed Forces experts. But why did Ukraine itself not propose a list of its own?

[Bizhan] Ukraine has proposed a list. Its position is firm: The Strategic forces must include only those units armed with strategic nuclear weapons. But that list does not satisfy the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command [Glavkomat].

[Polyakov] Ivan Vasilyevich, thousands of officers are trying to return to Ukraine. How is this question being resolved?

[Bizhan] On 3 April Colonel General Yuriy Rodionov, deputy commander in chief for cadres of the CIS Joint

Armed Forces, and I signed an agreement on the transfer of officers to a new service location in Ukraine and from Ukraine to other CIS countries. Everything will now be resolved on a legal basis. Officers from the Transcaucasus will be transferred to Ukraine first of all. Our representatives have already gone there and we will settle each officer's fate individually.

[Polyakov] Recently there has been increasing talk that at the Ukrainian Defense Ministry there is a secret order not to appoint Russians to top posts. For example, at the Kiev Military District Staff only around 200 out of 500 officers have been nominated as promotion candidates and out of 25 generals four or five have received an appointment.

[Bizhan] The Armed Forces Main Staff and the Ukraine Defense Ministry have been created on the basis of the Kiev District Staff. We tried to use officers who had served at the district's staff. The main criterion for us is the professionalism of an officer or general. Not everyone meets the necessary requirements. We consider the question of age. To be frank, we cannot ignore people's convictions, either. If someone is indifferent to the creation of the Ukrainian army or even does not accept this fact, he must make his position plain straight away.

[Polyakov] Does this not mean that the Ukrainian army is already being created right now as a national army, not an international army?

[Bizhan] To be honest, we did not calculate how many Russians and Ukrainians there are among the generals and officers although you will agree this "percentage" should reflect the ratio of Ukrainians and Russians who are citizens of our state. Judge for yourself: All the commanders of districts and the majority of commanders of armies and commanders of divisions and regiments were Russians. Should it remain like that?

[Polyakov] You say that you take convictions into account, too. But how far do the convictions and aims of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN], the Ukrainian Insurrection Army [UPA], and the Sech Riflemen tally organically with those of the Ukrainian army?

[Bizhan] It gives me particular satisfaction to answer that question because I do not want a shadow of doubt about the aims and tasks of building the Ukrainian army. So far we have had a one-sided view of the OUN, the UPA, and other military formations. What were their aims and how did the people regard them? It is necessary to examine Ukrainian history and understand it. The traditions of the OUN and the UPA will undoubtedly be reflected in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

[Polyakov] Will that not be a deterrent to those who are about to serve Ukraine?

[Bizhan] I do not think so. People tried to intimidate us once with the word "capitalism." We arrogantly called it rotten, but now that label simply makes us smile. The main thing is to assess Ukraine's historic past in a new and truthful way.

[Polyakov] What, then, can unite the armies of the former republics of the USSR, in particular those of Russia and Ukraine—traditions, common borders, a unity of aims?

[Bizhan] All three. We are all Slavs. But we should not call each other older or younger brother. We are all equal. In those conditions our armies will be united by friendship.

Horyn To Give Up Cochairmanship of Rukh

AU2104165592 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Levko Lukyanenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP], will hold his post until the beginning of May 1992. At the third congress of the party, which will take place in Kiev on 1 and 2 May, Mykhaylo Horyn will be the number one candidate for this post. Like Levko Lukyanenko, he was among the founders of this party.

This information was given to our correspondent yesterday by a representative of the URP central apparatus. He emphasized that an interesing thing here is the fact that Mykhaylo Horyn was elected cochairman of Rukh [Ukraine's People's Movement for Perestroyka] at its Third All-Ukrainian Congress.

In accordance with Rukh's statutes, he has no right to be a member of any party. It is expected that Mykhaylo Horyn will give preference to the leadership of the Ukrainian Republican Party.

Further on Security Service News Conference

LD2104135992 Kiev UKRINFORM Diplomatic Information Service in Russian 1521 GMT 17 Apr 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Litvinov]

[Text] Kiev, 17 Apr—In the sociopolitical sense, Ukraine is the most stable state of all the CIS member countries. This was stated at a news conference here today for Ukrainian and foreign journalists by Yevhen Marchuk, chairman of the Security Service of Ukraine [SSU]. The republic, he stressed, does not have armed clashes by opposing sides, there is no bloodshed or combat actions. And this, as many foreign observers note, is a great achievement for Ukraine. Therefore, the main task of the service, said its leader, is to preserve this stability in society, to preserve civil peace and national concord.

Yevhen Marchuk talked about the first months of work of the new service, the difficulties it is coming up against, especially in staffing, and also about the basic directions of its activity. Altogether, he said, over two-thirds of

chiefs have been replaced in the service. This has considerably stimulated operational and service activity. But the SSU is only half staffed. And yet the Main Directorate for Counterintelligence has stopped some attempts at collaboration by Ukrainian citizens with special services of foreign states. Staff of the service have also prevented some cases of Ukrainian enterprises concluding contracts with foreign firms which caused great economic harm to the republic's economy. They also did not allow illegal transfer operations to the value of 80 billion rubles through the new banking structures.

The SSU, said Yevhen Marchuk in conclusion, is not involved in spying; its main aim is to supply the highest leadership of the country with information.

Chernobyl Officials View Closure as 'Hasty'

LD2204054492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0307 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Excerpt] Kiev, 21 Apr (UKRINFORM-TASS)—At the Chernobyl atomic power station [AES], preparations are under way for its final shutdown in 1993. This was stipulated by a resolution of the Ukrainian Government.

However, at the station itself the government's decision is considered hasty. As Sergey Parashin, deputy general director of the Chernobyl AES production association, noted, the decommissioning of the station is not a simple matter either from a technical or a social point of view. There has not been any experience with corresponding projects or technologies. The social aspect has not been taken into account either, in his opinion. Specialists from all corners of the former union—who were promised reasonable working and living conditions—have come since the accident in 1986. The closure of the station also brings up the issue of job placement.

"The staff, irrespective of the forthcoming closure of the station, will ensure its safety up to the last minute of the AES's operation," Viktor Vasilchenko, the association's chief engineer noted. "As far as the 'sarcophagus' is concerned, operations have been halted there recently." According to him, this structure requires further essential work, and an international competition for new plans for this has already been announced. [passage omitted]

Chernobyl Issues Analyzed

AU2204111892 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] A sorrowful date is approaching—the sixth anniversary of the Chernobyl catastrophe. Our Kiev correspondent Eduard Kotenko has the microphone.

[Eduard Kotenko] In Ukraine, the entire next week will be marked by this sad event. Evening ceremonies commemorating the Chernobyl catastrophe will be held in many places, bells will chime for Chernobyl, and other activities will be conducted. Charity concerts will be organized for the benefit of those children and adults who were exposed to Chernobyl radiation. A high-level scientific conference on medical problems related to the explosion at the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant on 26 April 1986 will be held in Kiev. Civil funeral rites for those who were killed by radiation will be conducted in all churches.

A roundtable discussion has already taken place in the Kiev Palace of Scientists of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Its theme was as follows: Ecology and Technological Culture—the Echo of Chernobyl. Scientists, specialists in the history of science, and journalists not only discussed the causes of the tragedy and its socioeconomic, ecological, and medical consequences, which are becoming increasingly acute and serious over the course of time. They also analyzed the short-term prospects of resolving the Chernobyl problems. This is the opinion of Dmytro Mykhaylovych (?Grudzynskyy), corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

[Begin Grudzynskyy recording] The sarcophagus is not something very pleasant at all. For us, it is a facility whose behavior is not quite clear. Why? It contains an enormous amount of radioactive waste. It consists of alloys of [words indistinct] that is a very hard material. These are the remains of the reactor that were there. All these materials were raked up, and our boys ran around it and threw all this radioactive debris of [word indistinct] there, collected it and created this concrete structure, which is very heavy and rests upon weak soil. It is gradually sinking and gradually turning. A huge block weighing more than 1,000 tonnes hangs slantwise there. It may fall down at any moment. If it does fall down, it will raise so much dust that, again, it will not be good.

Something must be done about it. An international competition was announced, and various firms are beginning to offer their services in order to build this Sarcophagus-2. However, it will have to be dismantled in any case, because no matter how many shells are created around it, it must be dismantled. Why? Because it contains a great radioactive mass. If there is a serious situation such as a major earthquake measuring more than 4.5 or 6 points [on the Richter scale], then there is a growing probability that in the course of an earthquake and the associated displacement of masses, a subcritical mass may accumulate that may cause an explosion. [end recording]

In the present difficult situation in which Ukraine has found itself as a result of the global technological offensive against nature and man, and especially following the Chernobyl radioactive contamination, this well-known biologist finds it necessary to see to it that in state economic policy preference is given to resolving, first and foremost, ecological problems.

[Begin Grudzynskyy recording] If priority is not given to ecological issues, this will be the end. Why the end? Because, the birthrate in Ukraine is already lower than the death rate. For example, the birthrate is 13.1 per 1000 persons and the death rate—15-17. Whereas it only

applied to eight oblasts three years ago, now this has become nationwide, that is to say, degeneration has set in. I hope that proper legislation will be created. We need to create such legislation that would promote our ecological policy. [end recording]

This was an interview with Dmytro Grudzynskyy, corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. I will remind you that at the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant preparations are currently under way for its final closing down in 1993. This is provided for by the resolution issued by the Ukrainian Government.

However, the decision adopted by the government is regarded as hasty at the plant itself. As stated by Serhiy Parashyn, deputy director general of the production association of the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant, the closing down of the plant is not a simple matter both in technological and social aspects. There is still a lack of experience, suitable projects, and technology. Nor, in his opinion, has the social aspect been taken into account. After the 1986 accident, specialists from all over the former Soviet Union arrived there. They were promised normal conditions for work and life. When the plant is closed down, the problem of their employment will become acute.

Moldova

Snegur Message to Russian Sixth Congress

OW2104191692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1827 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] As we reported earlier, President Mircea Snegur sent a telegram to the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies of Russia. Here is its full text:

"Dear Mr. Chairman, Dear Deputies, "What are you doing? Come to your senses! Don't you have many unsolved problems in Russia? "By going as far as discussing the internal affairs of other sovereign states, you are fanning up anti-Russian sentiments. In effect you are provoking hostility among other peoples, including the people of Moldova. "In this difficult period only restraint, sober-mindedness, and tact in interstate relations can stop the situation from further deteriorating."

IF's [INTERFAX's] note: This is Snegur's second message to the Russian congress. The first one was written before the congress passed its resolution on the situation in the Dniester region. According to sources in the Russian parliament, the latter is not going to go back to the issue, least of all to cancel the resolution which has been officially described as a "carefully worded document showing respect for Moldovan sovereignty.

Dniester Cease-Fire Remains Unimplemented

PM2104155192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Apr 92 p 1

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Colonel N. Mulyar, Colonel V. Gavrilenko, and Major A. Stasovskiy: "Dniester Region: Farewell to Arms? Regrettably, Farewell to Arms Promises To Be Protracted"]

[Text] According to the agreement between Moldova and the Dniester region by 1600 hours 15 April the sides should have taken their armed detachments from Bendery to permanent basing stations, disarmed Dniester guardsmen in the city and Moldovan volunteers in nearby villages, and cleared the mines from and unblocked the roads. However, it has not proved possible to do this. No one has set about implementing the agreement despite the fact that deputies from Chisinau, Bendery, and two rayons adjoining Bendery approved a phased plan for the implementation of the agreement at a joint session of deputies' groups of observers. But representatives of Chisinau did not come to Bendery 15 April.

The situation immediately worsened. Once again news agencies have started to carry reports that firing has resumed. We telephoned Bendery. Fedor Dobrov, Dniester Supreme Soviet deputy, came to the telephone at the city's working committee:

"There is no hint of a cease-fire. Moldovan armed formations entrenched themselves on Suvorov Mountain and spent the whole night before last (after 1600 hours 15 April) subjecting the village of Giska and guardsmen's posts on the Kaushany highway to intensive fire from heavy machineguns. We were patient, very patient... Then they attacked weapon positions with Alazan missiles. Evidently an ammunition dump was hit. There was a mighty explosion. That is the kind of 'calm' that exists in Bendery. We observed new infantry fighting vehicles in Varnitsa and Shilka self-propelled antiaircraft guns being drawn up from the Moldovan side in the direction of Dubossary.

"I think that a peaceful settlement has once again been wrecked because the terms for the Dniester Guard to surrender their weapons do not suit us. What is more, our proposal to use a third force to separate the sides has not met with support."

We asked Dmitriy Korletyan, head of the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs Public Relations Directorate, why the negotiating processes have been disrupted. This is what he said:

"Who wants to give up their weapons after having had the thrill of owning them for so many days? We suggested various options to the Dniester region, but they want one thing—we will keep our weapons. We will pile them up in barracks, they say. Is that really a serious discussion?"

The question of weapons and military hardware is indeed very acute today. The enemy tries to respond whenever the latest consignment of weapons, munitions, or armored vehicles appears in the opposing side's ranks. That is evidently why the attacks are continuing on 14th Army units with a view to obtaining arms. We were told by the army staff that at roughly 22 hours 15 April a group of women led by Galina Andreyeva's deputy—Svetlana Migulya—and accompanied by guardsmen burst into a combat vehicle depot; two armored personnel carriers were stolen and a general signal to assemble was sounded in the city. Major General Vladimir Kozhevnikov, division commander, immediately took steps to hunt for the stolen armored personnel carriers. They were returned to the depot shortly after. But on the morning of 16 April the women once again infiltrated the unit's territory, demanding arms and hardware from the military.

In an attempt to cover up their military preparations, the sides sometimes use blatant misinformation regarding their enemies' illegal actions. Thus, MOLDOVA-PRESS circulated a report saying that representatives of the Dniester Defense Committee were visiting the city of Bolgrad near the Moldovan border in order to ascertain the possibility of obtaining material, financial, and military backing for the Dniester Moldovan Republic from the city and rayon leadership. The agency claims that representatives of the Dniester Moldovan Republic also met with the command of the Bolgrad airborne assault

division of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and asked about military hardware, heavy artillery, and munitions.

Our correspondent telephoned Ivan Makedonskiy, the Ukrainian president's representative in Bolgradskiy Rayon and republic people's deputy, along with Mikhail Netkov, deputy chairman of the Bolgrad City Soviet.

"This is the first time that we have heard about this. There have been no Dniester representatives visiting the rayon or the city."

This is how Lieutenant Colonel Sergey Pristavkin, operational duty officer from the Airborne Assault Troops Bolgrad Division, commented on the situation:

"This is all utter fabrication. There have been no outsiders at the division. This is the latest piece of misinformation about our formation..."

It is easy to see that passions have really run high over weapons. This is no coincidence. Each of the sides links ownership of weapons with the durability of their positions in the Dniester region. But it is this that has already cast doubt on the results of the first important peace accords.

Dniester Region Vice President Interviewed

MK2104143592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 92 p 3

[Igor Zotov report: "It Doesn't Matter Who It Is, As Long As the Warring Sides Are Separated." Dniester Republic Vice President Aleksandr Karaman Believes That Only Events in Dniester Region Are Preventing Unification of Moldova and Romania"]

[Text] Aleksandr Karaman has met with Russian deputies from various factions in Moscow. In his opinion, the Russian congress did not remain indifferent to the events in the Dniester region.

The joint commission of Russian, Ukrainian, Moldovan, and Romanian foreign ministers has resumed its work. However, no representatives of the Dniester region were invited to the commission's sessions. "We would like to have been present at these sessions from the outset so that there is no repetition of the Munich agreement when someone resolves someone else's future and then tells them about it," Karaman said.

The vice president told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent that the Dniester region leaders are hoping that the question of the legal status of the left bank would be resolved as a result of the commission's work: "Although Chisinau assesses this question as interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Moldova on the part of Russia, I think that if this question is not resolved there can be no question of putting an end to the conflict."

Broaching the issue of the role of the 14th Army in the present situation, Karaman noted that, having signed the protocol of the conciliation commission, the Moldovan side immediately started violating it. Chisinau started demanding that the weapons of the disarming sides be handed in at Moldovan army dumps and not at the places where both sides' armed formations are stationed, as the protocol indicated. "Such conditions are unacceptable to us since they mean the unilateral disarmament of our national guard," Karaman stated, "and this is suicide as far as we are concerned. The protocol is not being implemented, but not because the Dniester region is proposing that the 14th Army mediate. Yes, we want it to be a buffer between the warring sides. Moldova is proposing that the Ukrainian Army do this. That is fine, let it be Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan—it does not matter who it is, as long as the warring sides are separated."

Karaman believes that only the events in the Dniester region are preventing the treaty on "fraternal cooperation" between Romania and Moldova from being signed, because no other obstacle exists: All the key posts in the parliament and government of Moldova are occupied by representatives of the People's Front—who are advocates of the reunification of these two countries. The Moldovan Army, Karaman claimed, is continuing to obtain military assistance from Romania. "Our republic," the vice president said, "does not intend to establish either diplomatic or consular relations with other states. We have stated in the past and continue to state that we do not want to leave Moldova, and we recognize Moldova's membership of the CSCE and the United Nations and the unviolability of its borders within the framework of the Moldavian SSR. We want to remain part of Moldova as the subject of the federation of a republic that would include Moldova, Gagauzia, and the Dniester region with equal rights for all three subjects. But on condition that the sovereignty of Moldova itself is preserved and it does not join Romania. If Moldova's status is changed and it loses its sovereignty, then we may raise the issue of the recognition of the Dniester region as an autonomous state."

Karaman believes that the Russian Cossacks' participation in the fighting in the Dniester region does not merit the attention Chisinau is paying it. The Cossacks came to Tiraspol voluntarily, but they are serving under the command of the national guard alone: "We are sending back all partisans and adventure-seekers." As soon as the first points of the four foreign ministers' declaration on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of armed formations are carried out, there will no longer be a need for the Cossacks' presence in the Dnestr region," the vice president guaranteed.

Police, Guards Move Back From Conflict Areas

LD2104203292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1515 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 21 Apr (TASS)—The withdrawal of armed formations, the disarmament of volunteer subunits, the mine clearing of the area, and the unblocking of roads started at noon today in the city of Bendery and its surroundings.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed from Bendery that the subunits of the Moldovan police and the Dniester region guards moved back from their positions at most "points of contact" and are bound for their permanent deployment sites. In other places this will happen when the area has been fully cleared of mines. A special purpose detachment of Moldovan police, which arrived to assist the local police, also left the city. The Bendery authorities asked the military to help in the mine clearing.

The disarming of volunteers has also begun. The implementation of the protocol is being controlled by a group of observers consisting of representatives of both sides, as well as by local authorities.

The Bendery leaders confirmed that a "third force," that is subunits of "volunteers," which obeyed neither Tiraspol nor Chisinau, took part in the conflict. They were mentioned also at the meeting of the Moldovan parliamentary presidium that took place yesterday. The "detachments," which according to eye-witnesses also include criminals, destabilize the situation and violate the cease-fire accords.

Moldova, Dniester Seek To Retain Officers

PM2204083692 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 92 p 1

[Colonel N. Mulyar, Colonel V. Gavrilenko, and Major A. Stasovskiy article: "Is There Moldovan Wine in Siberia?—Russian Officers on the Dniester Urged To Ponder This Question"]

[Text] The sides involved in the conflict in the Dniester region are banking primarily on their own military force. This is precisely why the formation of their own armed forces is most vigorously under way in Moldova, and is now also beginning in the Dniester region.

The events of the past few days illustrate this graphically. Moldovan President Mircea Snegur toured a number of military units which were transferred to Moldovan jurisdiction from 1 April. During a meeting with servicemen, Snegur emphasized that the Moldovan leadership will embark on negogiations with Russia in the near future with a view to settling all the questions pertaining to military units of the former Soviet Army. According to the president, at these talks Moldova intends to seek the earliest possible withdrawal from republic territory of units of the 14th Army, which were transferred to Russian jurisdiction by a decree of Boris Yeltsin's. As for Moldova's national army, Snegur declared that its basis will be formed by military units transferred to republic jurisdiction.

The president assured officers that all the conditions necessary to enable them to discharge their service normally will be created for them. At the same time, according to Snegur, officers wanting to leave Moldova will have the conditions to do so.

Naturally, these words sound convincing and attractive. However, frequently, and especially in our unquiet times, words are used to camouflage the true state of affairs. The editorial office has learned from authoritative sources that the formation of the Moldovan army is plagued by serious difficulties. These stem primarily from cadre problems. It has been decided to focus particular attention on officers of non-Moldovan origin in military units which have been transferred to Moldovan jurisdiction. Their mood does not inspire the hope that the military specialists will switch voluntarily to serving in the national army. For this very reason it has been decided to use a tried-and-tested method. Since, as has emerged, there are not many "carrots" at the disposal of the Moldovan Ministry of Defense, the following measures are to be used as a "stick." Officers who have not taken the oath of loyalty to the Moldovan people or signed a contract are promptly declared supernumerary. They are given only two months to find a post in another region. After the two months have expired, they will be paid only for their rank.

Those officers who signed a contract but did not take the oath will no longer be given ranks and will be transferred to posts a grade lower.

A trustworthy source reports that brazen attempts are made to frighten officers that should they dare to seek a transfer to another place of service, the option will be only Siberia, or worse, and they will never again set eyes on... Moldovan wine!

But these people do not confine themselves only to this kind of primitive threats. After the officers had been given their personal papers, they were told that they could only exchange apartments with officers from other regions. Otherwise their housing would become Moldovan property. Even if some people should find a more or less acceptable solution, it will, nonetheless, be very difficult to leave: Shipment of a container to Moscow alone costs more than 20,000 rubles.

It would appear that the public organizations and foundations which are vying with each other in advertising their activities to provide social protection for servicemen, have a role to play here. There is much scope for their activities, after all, officers in Moldova are in need of concrete help right now.

Judging by appearances, the Dniester Moldovan Republic also intends to form its own army, as mentioned earlier. It will be created for exclusively defensive purposes, and will number up to 12,000 servicemen. This was announced by Igor Smirnov, president of the Dniester Moldovan Republic, addressing an assembly of 14th Army officers and warrant officers. At present, he noted, the Dniester region is in dire need of officer cadres.

The 14th Army now comprises around 2,500 officers and ensigns. Igor Smirnov stated that the Dniester Republic is prepared to hire them all on a contract basis. Their social benefits and pensions will be guaranteed. An

extensive program of housing contruction for servicemen has been elaborated and is being implemented.

However, even on the part of the Dniester region the good intentions remain precisely that and no more. Meanwhile, any means is considered fair in order to draw units of the 14th Army into the conflict. Galina Andreyeva, the leader of the Dniester region women's movement, declared at a commemorative rally on Saturday [18 April], in the form of an ultimatum, that the blockade of military units will continue until the military join up with the defenders of the Left Bank or hand over their combat hardware, weapons, and munitions to the national guards.

The words are backed up with actions. Last night a group of 30 masked armed people attacked the barracks of a repair and rebuilding unit. Unknown persons seized 61 automatic weapons.

The diverse attempts of the leaders of Moldova and the Dniester Moldovan Republic to entice military cadres into their armed formations are entirely understandable. Without them an army is not an army. However, behind all the promises and enticements, as we can see, lies the gloomy prospect of the hard lot of an officer in a conflict area.

Smirnov Invites Officers To Join Dniester Forces

PM2204085092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Eduard Kondratov report: "Vigorous Talks and Slow-Moving War in Dniester Region"]

[Text] Chisinau—"What are you doing? Come to your senses!" It was with those emotional words that the Moldovan president began his telegram to the Congress of Russian Deputies.

In Mircea Snegur's opinion, the Congress is wasting its time investigating other sovereign states' internal affairs—as if Russia did not have enough problems itself.

The cease-fire and troop withdrawal agreement came into force Monday [20 April]. But only formally, because opposition from armed formations continues. Along with firefights. Although the last few days have been relatively quiet, the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center reported, there were two serious truce violations. A police post was shelled by "Alazan" missiles near the village of Kochiyery and one of the policemen was wounded. The Dniester people launched an attack on three armored vehicles outside the village of Rogi. One vehicle was wrecked, there is no information on casualties.

The conciliation commission has been working late into the night in Bendery.

Meeting with officers of the 14th Army, I. Smirnov, head of the unrecognized Dniester Moldovan Republic, told them about the republic's creation of its own armed forces, and invited all those who so wished to serve it. According to information from Moldovan agencies, the Dniester Army will comprise 12,000 men, and 20 million rubles is being allocated for its upkeep. Obviously, the decision to set up regular Dniester troops was prompted by the accelerated formation of a national army in Moldova and the relatively belligerent mass media propaganda linking it with the prospect of resolving the Dniester conflict.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Adviser Optimistic About Bishkek Meeting

OW2104190992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1826 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev's political adviser, Leonid Levitin, has given an interview to our correspondent Bermet Malikova on the aims of, and a possible agenda for, the meeting of the heads of state of Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia to be opened in Bishkek on April 22.

In Levitin's opinion, the CIS cannot work, "since only regional alliances are viable within the framework of the former Soviet Union." Such alliances are held together by geographical proximity, and historical, cultural and psychological similarity.

IF's [INTERFAX] note: In interviews given and public speeches made during the last few weeks, President Akayev has been making very sceptical comments on prospects for the CIS and its viability. In particular, he made it clear that he pinned absolutely no hopes on the Tashkent summit of May 15. He not only refused to chair the meeting but will probably not attend it at all. Levitin is convinced that the Bishkek summit will be a success since all the presidents invited are eager to take part in it. "This means they want unity, although the unification of these countries will be a lengthy process," he said, "and the meeting can't be expected to solve all the problems." It has been suggested that the Bishkek summit be open to all CIS states, but Levitin regards the idea as "both futile and unrealistic" (this is apparently not only his point of view). He does not see any latent developments in the Asian region of the former USSR which could lead to conflicts like the ones in Nagorno-Karabakh or the Dniester region of Moldova, for "there are no serious religious contradictions or territorial disputes between the Asian republics except for some minor border issues which can quite easily be resolved. [quotation marks as received]

IF's note: By minor border issues Levitin means disputes between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan over some land allotments on their border. A conflict over this was averted by an agreement reached by the chief of the Kyrgyz presidential staff, Ednan Karabayev, and Tajik leader Rakhman Nabiyev. Levitin sees the upcoming Bishkek summit as an attempt to put an end to national isolation which, if successful, will serve to stabilize their relations in all spheres. Cooperation is easier within the Asian region than within the CIS as a whole, he believes, since "none of the Asian states have imperialist ambitions." In his view, the Asian states have another important reason for unification, namely this is the only way for them to overcome their economic crisis, since neither Central Asia nor Kazakhstan can expect to get any considerable aid either from the West or from the East. This is actually what made the Kyrgyz government draft a set of agreements for the summit - on the forming of a single investment fund, the setting up of a council of banks, the formulation of a single banking and credit policy, the coordination of economic reforms, cooperation between arbitration courts, and mutual legal assistance. The Asian states are also expected to sign protocols on measures to carry out agreements on border issues reached at CIS summits.

Decree Eases Russian Trade Restrictions

PM2104112792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Apr 92 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Old Ties Quietly Being Restored"]

[Text] Restrictions on Kyrgyzstan's trade and barter deals with Kazakhstan and Russia have been lifted. Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev's decree also permits duty-free shipment and the transport of foodstuffs and items for personal consumption into the republic, and restrictions on the export of those goods have been scrapped.

President Enacts Resolution on Agrarian Reform

OW1704175192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1459 GMT 17 Apr 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev signed the government resolution on the initial measures for realizing the agrarian reform, rendering state support to agriculture and stimulating the production and purchase of the most important categories of agricultural products for 1992-1993.

According to this document, beginning from 1993 Kyrgyzstan will be effecting a transition from state orders to agreement-based relations between the purveying and processing organizations, on the one hand, and the producers, on the other. Their relations will be based on mutually advantageous conditions including downpayment for the expenses involved. The National Bank of Kyrgyzstan is expected, in terms of priority, to invest in agriculture 3 bil. [billion] rubles. 25% of the means obtained as a result of privatization of state farms and other state-owned agricultural enterprises will be channeled to the land fund, and 75% to the farm development association. All these capabilities will be used to develop a social infrastructure in the country (construction of hospitals, schools, culture centers, etc.).

The Resolution envisages that privatization of state and collective farms as well as of other agricultural enterprises will be carried out in the period following the completion of harvesting works and before the beginning of the spring field activities next year. Heads of the state administration together with the ministry of agriculture are advised to reinstate the unlawfully privatized estates within their original boundaries. The country is setting up an agriculture development fund at the expense of

0.5% cost of produce sold by state and collective farms as well as by other state-owned agricultural enterprises.

Taxation on the excise cost of forage, pedigree cattle, seeds and crops is prohibited. Payment for water supply in 1992 has been rescinded.

Tajikistan

President Ill, Absent From Bishkek Meeting

LD2204110192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1044 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Titov and Sergey Podyampolskiy]

[Excerpt] Bishkek April 22 TASS—Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev is ill and did not arrive to the meeting of former Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan in Bishkek, the press centre of the meeting said on Wednesday [22 April].

Tajik Vice-President Narzulov Dustov, who was expected to replace Nabiyev, did not arrive either.

Tajikistan is represented by First Deputy Prime Minister Tukhtabay Ghafarov who will have a non-voting status. He headed Tajik experts who prepared documents for the Bishkek meeting which aims to create a common Turkic economic space. [passage omitted]

Opposition Continues Demonstrations in Dushanbe

Parliament 'To Consider' Demands

OW2104142092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1329 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reports from Dushanbe, under the pressure of the ultimatum, the Tajik authorities agreed to consider the opposition's demands. On Tuesday [21 April] morning the parliament's presidium met with the opposition leaders after which the demands, advanced by the participants in the on-going meeting in Dushanbe, were included in the agenda. The opposition demands that the parliament discuss the activity of its chairman Safarali Kendzhayev, as well as replacements in the presidium. Among the demands is also Kendzhayev's resignation.

Addressing the deputies, Muhammadsharif Khimmatzada, an opposition leader and chairman of the Islamic Revival Party, denied allegations that his party's goal was to do way with the current system. He said that according to the Koran, the social system is shaped by the will of the people. The system can only be changed, he said, if the people decide to build an Islamic republic in Tajikistan.

Shodmon Yusupov, the leader of the Democratic Party which is another opposition party, expressed readiness to cooperate with a new chairman of the parliament if he is elected. "We are ready to conclude with him an agreement on cooperation any moment prior to the election of a new parliament in accordance with the constitution, he said. He also warned the deputies that Kendzhayev's further activity as the parliament's chairman may threaten the unity of the republic and tranquility in it.

The oppositionists' meeting in Dushanbe continues. The situation is mostly tranquil.

Protesters Surround Parliament

LD2104185292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan has by majority vote decided to keep the Supreme Soviet chairman in his post. In response to this, the opposition has begun setting up armed detachments, which are surrounding the Supreme Soviet Building. Our correspondents are monitoring the situation. So far, we have a report on the morning's events in Dushanbe.

[Correspondent M. Nikulin] The start of the parliament's work was delayed by one hour today. While the deputies, who had not been informed, became bored waiting, the leaders of the Supreme Soviet held negotiations with the opposition leaders. Last night, representatives of the mass meeting taking place in the Republic's capital had issued an ultimatum warning of unpredictable consequences if one of the main demands of the participants in the mass meeting—the illegal activity of Supreme Soviet Chairman Safarali Kendzhayev—was not put on the agenda for the session. That demand was met.

After considering a draft resolution on an issue discussed earlier, the political and socioeconomic situation in the Republic, the deputies dispatched it for further work and began considering the demands of the mass meeting participants. These included the issue of the activity of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium, which, in the opposition's view, had acted as a spur to the destabilization of the Situation in Dushanbe.

Hostages Taken; Speaker Resigns

LD2204140792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1355 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By KHOVAR correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe April 22 TASS—Despite Tuesday's [21 April] vote of confidence in speaker Safarali Kendzhayev, Tajikistan's parliament today, without much debate, accepted his resignation, bowing to pressure from the republic's opposition.

On Tuesday, opposition activists took several people's deputies hostage, demanding that the legislature review its decision.

The parliament has accepted most of the opposition's demands, it annulled amendments to a bill on the press and agreed to remove tougher censorship regulations.

Representatives of all opposition political parties and religious groups have been elected in the committee of constitutional compliance. A date for the passing of the new constitution has been set.

In addition, Tajikistan President Rakhman Nabiyev signed a decree, promising that protesters, who took part in a rally at Shokhidon Square, where the lawmakers had been taken hostage, will not be prosecuted until April 24. Opposition leaders have promised to end the rally by the date.

However, while the parliament was in session, protesters tried to force their way into Ozodiy Square in front of the parliament building. They carried posters, demanding the parliament's resignation.

Tensions remain high in the Tajik capital.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan: Opposition 'Torpedoing' Government

OW2104150292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1329 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has accused the opposition of pursuing its narrow political interests and torpedoing the government's activity. Addressing the Armenian parliament, Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that there was no serious alternative to the programme for Armenia's social and economic development which he had proposed and which was blocked by the parliament on Monday [20 April].

Although on April 20 the Armenian MPs [members of parliament] held two votes, the proposed programme failed to secure the required number of supporters. The government did not manage to convince the deputies that its programme represented the surest way to a market economy.

On Tuesday [21 April], the parliament resumed the discussion of the programme. It may choose to set up a conciliatory commission, consisting of parliament and government representatives, in order to overcome disagreements on the future of Armenia.

Further on Remarks

OW2104184892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1825 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking in the parliament, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan accused the opposition of trying to shatter the government's policy of reform for its own political purposes. Yesterday (April 20) the parliament rejected his plan for social and economic reforms (the main points of his speech were given in PB issue No. 52).

The President could not believe the program had been turned down because it was imperfect. No other program existed anyway. The parliament had proposed no reforms that could help create market mechanisms and thereby stabilize the economy.

He warned the parliament, however, that, even if the latter completely rejected the government program the cabinet would still use it as a basis for its work.

IF's [INTERFAX] note: Yesterday the parliament voted on the government program twice. The first time the program was given 83 votes, the second time 89, whereas the minimum number for it to be approved was 131. Today some deputies have suggested that the problem be discussed. There have also been proposals that a conciliatory commission be set up, consisting of members of parliament and government, to work out an adequate solution.

Azerbaijani Forces Seize Air Defense System

NC2104202092 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Artsvashen in Armenia's Krasnoselskiy Rayon has been shelled for the last two days. The village has suffered great destruction and is currently surrounded by Azerbaijani National Army units and armored cars.

The village of Khndzoresk in Armenia's Gorisskiy Rayon is also being shelled from Azerbaijani territory.

It is obvious that Azerbaijan has never given up the idea of drawing Armenia into a military conflict.

Reliable sources have told ARMENPRES that armed Azerbaijani groups occupied the brigade center of the air defense directorate near Mingechaur today. Personnel were [word indistinct] and the arms and military hardware were plundered. In effect, this means that Transcaucasia's entire air defense system has collapsed.

According to the information provided by the Defense Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Azerbaijan fired two of the seized missiles on a passenger plane transporting humanitarian assistance to Stepanakert. The missiles blew up in the air before reaching the target because the Azerbaijanis did not know how to use the launching system.

Fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh Reported

NC2104204092 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] A hostage from the Armenian village of Maraga was subjected to hideously barbaric desecration before being killed in Askeranskiy Rayon of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. The Azerbaijanis mined the hostage's body, which exploded during a hostage exchange at the border, killing eight residents of Nagorno-Karabakh. Five hostages were returned alive yesterday. The fate of the remaining 45 villagers, mostly women and children, is unknown.

Two people died in Stepanakert and Surnakh in Askeranskiy Rayon when the towns were hit with Grad rockets in the early morning of 21 April.

Tanks shelled Martuni, raining fire on the city from the Azerbaijani military bases in Amiranlar, (Nuvanly) and (Probabkiny). One resident was injured and five buildings were destroyed.

On 20 April, a large Azerbaijani army detachment from Shusha attacked the Armenian village of Karin-Tak under cover of armored cars. The attack was repulsed, but the shelling continued until the morning of 21 April. The number of casualties is being determined.

Shelling Continues

LD2204094692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] The Armenian permanent mission reports that the situation was relatively calm overnight on the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. At the present moment, the shelling of Stepanakert from Shusha continues. The roads into the village of Artsvashen, which is surrounded by the Azerbaijani national army, are completely blockaded.

Karabakh Not To Attend 24 Apr Kozyrev Meeting

LD2104220392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1719 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan April 21 TASS—"The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic considers impossible the participation of Karabakh representatives in a meeting scheduled for April 24 in Mineralnye Vody on the initiative of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev," says a statement of the Karabakh leadership circulated today by the Karabakh Parliament Press Center.

In the opinion of the Karabakh side, the time of the meeting—the day of 1915 Armenian genocide memory—is not acceptable. They also say the first stage of cease-fire and hostage exchange, done with the mediation of the Russian Foreign Ministry, have not been completed.

The invitation "ignores the fact of existence of the independent Nagorno-Karabakh republic" and "offers it a vague status of representatives of the Armenian population", noted the document.

At the same time, the statement highly estimated the Russian mediating mission in Karabakh political settlement.

Karabakh envoys will readily go to the negotiations in case their status is considered equal with other negotiations participants and preliminary conditions of ensuring cease-fire put by the Karabakh Supreme Soviet Presidium are fulfilled, stressed the document.

Ter-Petrosyan Meets Russian Businessmen

PM2104141092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report: "Borovoy Wants To Stop the War"]

[Text] K. Borovoy, president of the Russian Commodities and Raw Materials Exchange, met with Armenian Foreign Minister R. Hovannisian and had a private conversation with republic President L. Ter-Petrosyan 13 April in Yerevan.

"We want to put an end to the war in Karabakh," the businessman stated. He has already visited Baku and intends to visit Nagorno-Karabakh. Borovoy has so far refused to report the contents of his proposals for settling the Karabakh conflict.

Azerbaijan

Forces Placed on Increased Combat Readiness

LD2104220692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The IMMO-PRESS and FAKT agencies report that subunits of Azerbaijan's Ministry of National Security were put on to a state of increased combat readiness today. This is connected with the fact that Armenia is preparing to mark a Day of Mourning on 24 April for the Armenians who were killed in the 1915 genocide.

CIS Official Denies Reports on Deserters

LD2204102692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0750 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr—The report from Baku about the desertion of nine servicemen from the Gadrut border detachment to the Armenian units does not correspond to the facts. Colonel Aleksandr Suvorov, the head of the press service of the Committee for the Security of the CIS State Border, told this to the ITAR-TASS correspondent today. He called this information, which was given in the "Vesti" program on 21 April, "an attempt to discredit the border troops stationed on Azerbaijan territory which adhere to strict neutrality in the conflict.

'Tense Situation' Reported in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2104180392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Viktor Shulman—TASS]

[Text] Baku April 21 TASS—Tense situation preserved today in Nagorno-Karabakh and the border area between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

According to military experts' estimations, the situation in the conflict zone was aggravated by the daybreak shelling of Shusha from Khankendi (Stepanakert). Intensive heavy gun and grad launcher shelling lasted nonstop for several hours and brought considerable damage to Shusha.

Sources at the Azeri national security ministry said eight people were wounded in shelling.

Azeri populated localities of the Tertersky and Fizulinsky regions neighbouring Nagorno-Karabakh were under intensive fire in the afternoon.

Defense Ministry Updates Fighting, Casualties

NC2104200392 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] The Azerbaijani Ministry of Defense Press Center has reported the following:

The town of Barkhudarly in Kazakhskiy Rayon was hit with automatic weapon and machine gun fire from Idzhevan at 1000 on 20 April. The enemy fire was returned. Enemy units and military vehicles are being assembled along the rayon's border with Armenia.

Terter and Agdara in Terterskiy Rayon were hit with fire from Margushevan in Mardakertskiy Rayon from midnight on 20 April until 0300 this morning. Armenian Armed Forces troops used machine guns, artillery, Alazan-type rockets, and other weapons against the town. No one was killed.

Fizuli and nearby towns were hit with artillery fire from the town of Yukhary Dzhumali at 1840 on 20 April. Kadir was attacked from the direction of Khova. Self-defense units in the rayon warded off the attack. The clashes ended at 2000 and peace was established. The enemy continues to assemble heavy military vehicles in the region.

The towns of Elikulushagy, Melikakhmedli, and [name indistinct] in Kubatlinskiy Rayon, including Kubatly, were hit with 120mm shells fired from Armenia's Goris Rayon from 0300 to 0800 this morning. Several houses were damaged in Elikulushagy and [name indistinct]. One person was wounded.

Suleymanly and Kyshlakh in Dzhebrailskiy Rayon were hit with fire from missile launchers, grenade launchers, and automatic arms from Sur in the former Gadrutskiy Rayon from 1600 to 1800 on 20 April. The enemy fire was returned.

Reports indicate that six border guards defected from the 42d border unit with their weapons and joined the Armenian Armed Forces after being influenced by Armenian (?propagandists).

Reports from Gorenboyskiy Rayon indicate that a large number of reinforcements and combat vehicles were taken to the Armenian towns of Tavus, Karachinar, and Monat last night. Trenches are being dug around Tavus and the roads to the town are being mined. Shefek was hit with automatic weapons and machine gun fire from Karachinar and Monat last night.

The towns of Mormut and Mutludere in the Shynykh area in Kedabekskiy Rayon were hit with machine gun and automatic weapons fire from the heights in Armenia's (Krasnakert) Rayon at 1830 on 20 April. Two tanks came from Bashkend in Armenia and attacked Dyuzrasullu at approximately the same time. Azerbaijani military units took effective measures to block the enemy attack. The clashes continued until 0400 the next morning. The firing positions in Armenia's (Krasnakert) Rayon were hit with artillery fire and silenced.

The Armenians halted their attack after the town of Bashkend suffered a serious blow. Damage has been inflicted on the town and several people have been killed. No one was lost on our side.

We wish to make it known that the heavy combat equipment deployed in Bashkend belongs to the 2d Battalion of the 128th Regiment of the CIS 7th Army. The combat equipment was brought to Bashkend on 16 March 1992. This confirms once again that the joint CIS Armed Forces maintain a hostile stand in the region.

Shusha was hit with intensive tank and ABM fire from Khankendi [Stepanakert], Shushikend, and Dashalty from 1230 to 1400 on 20 April. The defenders of Shusha gave a deserving reply to the enemy. Regrettably, two of the brave defenders were killed and eight others were wounded.

The towns of Amiranlar and Moganly in Khodzhavendskiy Rayon were fired on from the former Martuninskiy Rayon with tracked vehicles on 20 April. Damage has been caused in the town of Amiranlar. No one was killed. This information was conveyed to us by telephone by Vagif Balay ogly, a special correspondent of the KARABAKH newspaper. He said that the towns of Amiranlar and Moganly need considerable support from the Defense Ministry.

EC To Grant Nagorno-Karabakh Humanitarian Aid

LD2104214892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1617 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels April 21 TASS—The European Community has decided to grant 500,000 ECU in urgent humanitarian aid to the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The money will be used to buy food, medicines and medical equipment for the conflict-torn region.

U.S. Oil Company Sends Medical Aid to Baku

LD2104220292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1806 GMT 21 Apr 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Svetlana Krasnova for TASS]

[Text] Baku April 21 TASS—A U.S. transport plane delivered here 26 tonnes of medicines and medical equipment on Tuesday [21 April]. This humanitarian cargo is a gift of the U.S. oil company Amoco to the Azeri people. The U.S. company, which is participating in the joint development of projects of exploitation of one of the most perspective oil fields on the Caspian Sea, handed over the cargo to the local Red Crescent Society.

A group of staff members of the Yale University arrived in Baku on board the same plane. They will render help in training local medics.

Friendship Society Renamed International Center

NC2104121292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 16 Apr 92

[Excerpt] The Azerbaijan Friendship Society's executive board has decided that the society will now be known as the Azerbaijan International Relations Center. The center's new rules and regulations have been approved and its president has been elected. [passage omitted]

Georgia

State Council Statement on Human Rights

OW2104185092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1826 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The State Council has drafted measures to settle ethnic conflicts and protect human rights in the republic. In this connection the State Council Presidium issued a statement last night (April 20), which, in particular, reads:

"The grave political, economic, and social situation which has taken shape in Georgia has led to a deterioration in interethnic relations and gross violations of human rights.

"The inhuman and populist policies, and authoritarian rule brought the population of Georgia to a disaster. It proved impossible to avert fratricide, and hundreds of people were killed.

"Society was split into mutually hostile forces, whose confrontation ruined the unity of Georgia. Hotbeds of tension have constantly been springing up in various parts of the republic. The situation in Abkhazia is permanently unstable, whereas the ethnic conflict in the Tshkhinval region has developed into a regular civil war."

The Presidium puts the blame for this state of affairs on Georgian ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his "authoritarian regime." "The suffering and the economic damage he inflicted on the Georgian people by his shallow, antinational policy is inestimable," the document goes on.

"It is necessary to make an unbiased political and legal assessment of the tragedy. Unless we make it clear to the people that we are determined to settle all ethnic conflicts in a just way there can be no order and no development.

"The ethnic confrontation has resulted in a growing number of refugees, both Georgians and Ossetians, people who have been forced to leave their homes. Their number has reached 120,000. In the Tskhinval region, entire Georgian and Ossetian villages have become empty. In Prone Canyon there is not a single Georgian village left."

The activities of armed detachments have not been brought to an end and are, along with other factors, making the situation uncontrollable, "it being impossible not only to guarantee human rights but sometimes even save human lives. [no end quotemark as received]

Nor have any of the various public and political commissions that have been set up managed to get much done.

They have failed, in particular, to achieve ceasefire and have the roads unblocked.

The same day the presidium decided to set up a state committee on interethnic relations and the protection of human rights, appointing a 43-year-old lawyer, Alexander Kavsadze, its chairman. He was vested with extraordinary powers to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Tskhinval region.

Violence Escalates in South Ossetian Republic

LD2204091492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] The situation in South Ossetia is developing in such a way that the tripartite talks which were due to begin in Vladikavkaz are in danger of being ruined. The facts indicate a new spiral in the escalation of violence in the South Ossetian republic. Several Ossetian villages have been burnt down and Tskhinval has again been subjected to massive shelling. Twenty people have been wounded, and two have been killed.

Casualties Reported

OW2104141592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1329 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The prosecutor's office of the Trans-Caucasus Military District confirmed to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent on Tuesday [21 April] that two days previously Vladimir Pliushkin, rank-and-file member of the interior ministry troops, was killed in Tskhinval, South Ossetia's administrative center. Four shots were fired at him at close range. On Monday [20 April] the South Ossetians claimed that he died when Tskhinval was subjected to rocket and mortar fire from the direction of nearby Georgian villages.

In the meantime Monday evening a bus with residents of Georgian villages accompanied by a military patrol was fired at from a passing car. Three passengers were wounded.

After the incident the military refused to accompany transport facilities belonging to both Ossetians and Georgians, says IF's correspondent.

Mkhedrioni Paramilitary Group To Disband

LD2204051892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At a meeting today of representatives of the Defense Ministry and the Mkhedrioni armed formation, State Council member Jaba Ioseliani stated that the Mkhedrioni would be dissolved within ten days. He proposed that the fighters either get jobs in the professional Army, become reservists, or simply engage in peaceful work.

Spanish Daily Interviews Gamsakhurdia

PM2204101092 Madrid ABC in Spanish 12 Apr 92 p 36

[Interview with former Georgian President Zvyad Gamsakhurdia by Alberto Sotillo; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Groznyy—[introductory passage omitted] [Sotillo] Could an agreement be reached with Shevardnadze?

[Gamsakhurdia] It is Shevardnadze that must offer an agreement. I have not committed any crime, nor can I be accused of anything, whereas he has behaved like a criminal who organized a coup d'etat to overthrow me.

[Sotillo] Would you contest another election?

[Gamsakhurdia] Only parliament can call an election. If anything else happened, it would be an illegal election. According to the legal timetable, there should be a general election in three years' time and a presidential election in four years' time. A group of armed men have no right to organize elections.

[Sotillo] What must Shevardnadze do if he wants to reach an agreement?

[Gamsakhurdia] Dissolve the State Council and relinquish his presidential role. Then we would talk...

[Sotillo] Do you think that Shevardnadze should perform any role in Georgia's political life?

[Gamsakhurdia] He has no right to do so. He organized a coup d'etat.

[Sotillo] Why did you put the opposition in jail when you were in power?

[Gamsakhurdia] That is a lie. I only jailed criminals. They claimed to belong to nationalist organizations, but they were just gangsters. Chanturiya started the war by erecting barricades. Yoseliani was imprisoned four times as a common criminal. Others tried to seize the television service. I arrested them for criminal, not political, reasons.

[Sotillo] Did you make any mistakes when you were in power?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, when I appointed a prime minister Tengiz Sigua who proceeded to organize a coup d'etat against me. There were not many people to choose from.

[Sotillo] Those who deposed you must have some social support.

[Gamsakhurdia] The criminal world, the Communist Party, and the intellectuals, who have always submitted to communism. After my overthrow 90 percent of the prison population were released: That is where their social support lies.

[Sotillo] Why was Ossetia's autonomous status abolished?

[Gamsakhurdia] Because it wanted to be an independent republic. You may have some idea of this from the Basque problem. You cannot create a republic within another republic. The Ossetians wanted to become independent at Moscow's instigation in order to gain territories for Russia. Now Shevardnadze has recognized their autonomy, but it is an illegal republic.

[Sotillo] What do you think of some Georgian politicians' attempts to bring the monarchy to their country?

[Gamsakhurdia] Bagration called them mercenaries. He knew that they were sent not by the people but by gangs wanting to gain legitimacy. The monarchy issue must be determined by a referendum decided on by parliament. Georgiy Bagration knows it, but there are other Bagrations whom they are trying to "hunt down." The parties behind all this were created by the KGB.

[Sotillo] Have you had any contact with the Bagration family?

[Gamsakhurdia] By telephone. When the satellite telephone link was opened my first conversation was with Georgiy Bagration.

[Sotillo] What is your position on the monarchy?

[Gamsakhurdia] It is a matter that must be determined by the people's will. Though as long as there is anarchy and disaster, what is needed is political and economic stability.

[Sotillo] Do you not think that there is a danger of your country's total disintegration if the current confrontation continues?

[Gamsakhurdia] This danger does indeed exist, because those who overthrew me are fueling the fire of the ethnic disputes. One half of Georgia versus the other half. This is the role that Shevardnadze is performing as the servant of the Russian empire.

[Sotillo] What is your connection with General Dudayev?

[Gamsakhurdia] He too is struggling for his freedom and independence from Moscow.

[Sotillo] Are you willing to regain power through force of arms?

[Gamsakhurdia] As you see, I carry no weapons. I am in favor of civil disobedience. It is the junta that is doing the shooting.

[Sotillo] Do you not feel discouraged?

[Gamsakhurdia] I am still fighting. We will boycott the elections and we will struggle.

NDP's Chanturiya on Party's Activity

AU2104141992 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 31 Mar 92 pp 1,4

[Interview with Georgian National Democratic Party Chairman Giya Chanturiya by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "I Am Not Leonardo da Vinci...."]

[Text] Background: Giya Chanturiya is permanent chairman of the Georgian National Democratic Party [NDP]. He is 30 years old and a historian. He was first arrested in 1979—there were substantial reasons for this. He was imprisoned in Russia from 1983 to 1985, in April 1989, and, finally, in 1991. He is an incorrigible optimist. It is said that he was not allowed out of his cell for refusing to stand up when the camp officials came in. The NDP's fundamental principles are: Independence, democracy, Orthodoxy, and private property.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] Giya, your record as a dissident goes back a long way. You were in the opposition under both the communists and the dictatorial regime. Yet suddenly you gave a warm welcome to Eduard Shevardnadze at Tbilisi Airport. Do you know each other?

[Chanturiya] Yes. I met him in Moscow when I was released from prison and also before and after my trip to Spain. Our first meeting was mostly to sound each other out. Then we got together a few more times and discussed a whole series of issues. To be frank, I had a very negative impression of Shevardnadze when he was Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary. However, today he is a different person. He has virtually destroyed an empire. Throughout the world his name is associated with democratic processes.

Yes, Gamsakhurdia saw him as an enemy.... Take for example the fact that the newspapers published a series of articles on Shevardnadze's penitentiary system. One might think that Gamsakhurdia's penitentiary system was better! The former president left Georgia in such a state that it was impossible for local political forces to bring it out of its coma. An ordinary citizen might say, "I like it" or "I do not like it," but one of a politician's main principles should be a pragmatic approach to things. So let us proceed from state interests, from what we need most of all today, and more specifically let us think about who can lead the country out of crisis. Of course, Shevardnadze will not be able to perform a miracle, but leading us out of this crisis is within his powers. Take just the Fund for Revival and Democracy—it represents an entire budget and more. Do not forget that Shevardnadze's arrival in Georgia is a "come down in office" for him.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] People were saying not so long ago that the NDP would unite with the constitutional monarchists. Is this intention still valid? If it is, does this mean the formation of a bloc?

[Chanturiya] The leaders of the two parties put this proposal to their parties. We held an NDP Council session to discuss the matter, but it did not adopt the idea. Our parties will not only not unite: They will not even run on the same list of candidates. As far as the idea itself is concerned, we have not rejected it. All else aside, it is still a wonderful idea. The main thing is that it can unite people. Of course, I cannot say that the monarchy will some day be restored in Georgia, but the NDP will take definite steps in this direction.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] Whom do you consider to be the future monarch?

[Chanturiya] Johann, the 15-year-old son of Bagrat Bagrationi. He is at school in Switzerland. By the way, he flew to Spain specially to meet me. He wanted to come to Tbilisi with us, but family intrigues stopped him.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] So the NDP will run in the elections separately and, as far as I am aware, without a leader. Why?

[Chanturiya] The thing is, I am not Leonardo da Vinci. I cannot involve myself in all sorts of things at the same time, all of them at the same high professional standard. I always loved to write, but I gave everything up to become a professional politician. If I become a member of parliament, I would have to be a professional deputy, a state official. I would no longer be able to devote attention to the party and would belong to the NDP in name only.

Today we need professionals like the air we breathe. The time of dilettantes has passed. As for my nonparticipation in the elections, party leaders in many Western countries do not run for election. They remain party leaders and it is their duty to lead their party into the elections and help it win. I have decided to follow the same path.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] How do you plan to conduct your election campaign?

[Chanturiya] Loudly! Of course, though, we are making serious preparations. Our political program is already prepared and work on our economic program is nearing completion. Incidentally, in our work on the political part of the NDP's election platform we were guided by the Anglo-American model. Our economists have established close contacts with Germany, and this part of our

platform has a German orientation. Our platform is being drawn up by NDP members, who include all sorts of professionals.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] Giya, as I recall, in 1988, during the celebrated "November" action, it was your party that put forward the slogan of independence for Georgia.

[Chanturiya] Yes, it was we who started this. Do not think me immodest, but it was the NDP that laid the foundations for the mass national liberation movement in Georgia. However, history has been rewritten during the past two years.... Now only those who want to know the truth actually know it.

Having decided to establish a party, we decided not to try and invent something new, but to revitalize old traditions, because there had been an NDP in Georgia in the past. We studied the "blank spots" in Georgia's history, which was very difficult. In order to get hold of materials relating to the years 1917-21 in a public library, we had to use a great many connections. In 1981 there were just over 20 of us. Two years later there were approximately 200. Now there are 4,000 of us. Right from the very beginning we paid a great deal of attention to structures, which is why neither the communists nor Gamsakhurdia were able to do anything with us.

The action of 9 April, as opposed to the November action, was not organized by us. Nevertheless, six people were arrested, including three national democrats—myself, Vano Khukhunaishvili, and Irina Sarishvili.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] Talking of 9 April, most likely the whole truth about Gamsakhurdia's role in this tragedy has yet to emerge....

[Chanturiya] Not only his role in the 9 April tragedy. By the way, we never liked him as a person. In addition, there is his past—with that repentance. However, Zviad started coming to us and made himself out to be someone who had suffered, in which—never mind anything else—he succeeded. I do not know why I began to associate with him. Perhaps the fact that he is the son of the great Konstantine had an effect on me. My family admired his father; the subject of my mother's dissertation was the works of K. Gamsakhurdia. Well, we thought, let him come, he does have the desire to achieve something. However, in 1988 we realized that things were not what they seemed. A very confidential conversation took place in Moscow at the house of a diplomat and, would you believe it, Zviad knew its contents in detail! Only the Moscow KGB could have known this. If Moscow had not informed him, where could he have found out about this conversation? We started a "war" against Gamsakhurdia.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] I remember that at some stage the Gudava brothers were involved.... Now nothing is heard of them.

[Chanturiya] Yes. They, naturally, were on our side. They helped us under the communists and under the dictatorship. Now we no longer ask for help from anyone, because everything is up to us alone. We should all build our state together. A Georgian state. A democratic state.

I do not think Gamsakhurdia's people present any problem to Georgia. It simply suits some people for us to be under constant threat. Besides, their number is negligible—unless we ourselves artificially increase their number by adopting an unwise policy. There are such misgivings in our country today. Zviad Gamsakhurdia has been thrown onto the scrap-heap of history for ever. The same fate certainly awaits Dzhokhar Dudayev in the near future.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] Giya, will the NDP continue to exist or will it be dissolved when the fundamental principles of its program are implemented?

[Chanturiya] No. Our party will always exist. I think Georgia needs it. In general I think that in order to achieve one single aim—no matter how important it is—only a movement or an association can be formed. A party is something much more. It provides unity, a system, and a world outlook.

However, time will tell what kind of formation can be considered a party, and what kind cannot. The truly democratic elections to be held in Georgia will get rid of everything unnecessary, and, by means of natural selection, a few large and solid organizations will remain on the political scene. This is a natural process. Especially if you take into consideration the fact that Georgia is not experienced in political life. It seems they have forgotten whatever they once knew....

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] Finally, what is your forecast?

[Chanturiya] As always, I am an optimist by nature. I think everything will slowly, but surely, change for the better.

[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] Thank you for the interview.

Estonia

Trade Minister Resigns; New Minister Nominated

LD2204111592 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Summary] According to ETA, today's session of the Supreme Council revealed that Trade Minister Aleksander Sikkal has resigned from his post. The government has nominated Andres Tamm as the new trade minister.

Labor Minister Interviewed on Employment Laws

LD1904145292 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 15 Apr 92

[Interview with Estonian Labor Minister Arvo Kuddo by correspondent Gunnar Paal in Tallinn on 15 April—recorded]

[Text] [Paal] This morning the Supreme Council discussed the law on employment contracts. The law on employment contracts was adopted, and Arvo Kuddo, minister of labor, we should now explain this law to the people a bit because times are tense, a number of people are going to be unemployed, and relations between the employer and the employee are particularly topical at the moment.

[Kuddo] True, this was the first of the legal acts on labor out of a big package which have been drafted by now, and which was adopted today at last. The law on employment contracts will come into force 1 July. It will predominantly replace the labor code that currently exists. Of course, until 1 July the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic labor code will still be valid. And the principle of the law is indeed that it regulates the relations between the employee and the employer. The fact that the employee is always the weaker party in labor relations has been taken into account. For this reason fairly essential social guarantees have been introduced, including those should the work force be reduced, there are dismissals or the enterprise goes banrupt or for many other reasons. It sets down very strict rules for underage labor, for women's labor, issues of trial periods, and a number of other issues. It is indeed one of the most principled laws that has evidently been presented to the Supreme Council recently, not only in our sphere but altogether on the part of the government, and which have been adopted.

[Paal] The population will definitely be interested in the aspect of social guarantees.

[Kuddo] In case employees are reduced in number or dismissed, corresponding dismissal benefits are envisaged which will now depend on the employee's working experience. This as a rule may be two to four months after the reduction in numbers. Introduced as a new aspect was the payment of a compensation out of the state's means in case an enterprise has gone bankrupt, even if it is a private enterprise. For example, if a private enterprise does not perhaps possess any means for paying compensation then the state will guarantee a certain social minimum, a minimum benefit to the people who have lost their jobs if their enterprises have gone bankrupt. With state enterpises the state will of course take on the obligation to the full extent.

[Paal] A new situation will arise with an employment contract if a labor relation ends: a situation may arise that a person simply will not find another job?

[Kuddo] These issues will be resolved with other legisltive acts on labor. Next week the government should be discussing the draft law on social protection for the unemployed. We have also drawn up a draft law on leave, a draft law on salaries; work is in progress on the draft law on time at work and time off work. So that social protection for the unemployed will be resolved with legislative acts.

[Paal] Of this morning's news at the Supreme Council I would also like to say that the Supreme Council endorsed the mayor of Tallinn, with 51 votes in favor, seven against, and 15 abstaining. The Supreme Council continues its work.

Monetary Reform Committees Prepare for Exchange

OW2104190792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1806 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Estonian Monetary Reform Bureau Enn Teimann told BF [BALTFAX] that 21 monetary reform committees are being set up and lists of residents (persons allowed to exchange rubles for kronas) are being compiled in Estonia. The lists are due to be prepared by April 30.

Teimann said that the republican Monetary Reform Committee has not yet issued a decree on procedures for exchange of money held in bank accounts of legal entities.

Head of the Bank of Estonia's information department Kaupo Pollisinski told BF that "the money of legal entities will be protected".

The monetary reform procedures are kept in secrecy. Corresponding decisions will be made by the Monetary Reform Committee which includes, among others, Prime Minister and President of the Bank of Estonia.

Commission To Deal With Non-Citizen's Status

OW2204133492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yesterday (April 21) the Estonian parliament decided to form a commission charged with formulating a legal status for persons resident in Estonia but not

having Estonian citizenship. The commission will, in particular, be dealing with the social, economic, and political problems in north-eastern Estonia where Russians and other non-Estonians constitute a considerable proportion of the population. The commission includes none of the heads of northeastern local government bodies, but they will be taking part in its meetings.

That such a commission be formed was one of the main demands of Narva power industry workers who are planning to stage a warning strike tomorrow (April 23). It is still unclear, however, whether the strike will take place or not.

Latvia

Supreme Council Chairman Gorbunovs Interviewed

LD1904104892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1120 GMT 12 Apr 92

["Live Dialogue" phone-in program with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, presented by Ostankino television commentator Andrey Skryabin with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI observer Lyudmila Telen]

[Excerpts] [Skryabin] Hello, esteemed viewers. In our program today we are giving you the chance to meet Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Latvian Republic. We now have a television link between the Ostankino studio in Moscow and Riga, where the president [as heard] of the Latvian Republic is. Good day, Mr. Chairman ... [corrects himself]—forgive me—good day, Mr. Chairman.

[Gorbunovs] Good day.

[Skryabin] With me here in the Moscow studio is Lyudmila Telen, an observer for MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. [passage omitted]

[Telen] To judge from letters and calls we have been receiving, the most serious question bothering our viewers is the citizenship issue in Latvia. A citizenship law is currently under examination in Latvia. It is regarded by many experts, including international ones, as one which violates human rights. As I understand it, you are in favor of the zero option for the citizenship law. If I am wrong, please correct me. Would you tell me how you view the options that are under consideration at present. Do you feel that to some extent they violate human rights and that they not only complicate the state of affairs inside the republic but also offer trump cards to imperial-minded forces outside your republic?

[Gorbunovs] What have been put forward so far are two options, extreme options, concerning citizenship. One of them is that elections to the Sejm, the parliament, will be open only to citizens who are really citizens of the Latvian Republic, that is, the Latvian Republic whose constitution and citizenships have been restored as they were before 1940. This refers to both citizens and their descendants. That is one option. The other option is the zero option. In my view both of them are actually to some extent dead end options. For instance, I think that political forces on both sides naturally make use of these two options, if we can call them that, in their political arguments. I think that we now have to contrive to have the citizenship issue resolved through a referendum of citizens of the Latvian Republic. I believe that both sides,—given a 10-year residence qualification, a requirement to know the language, and perhaps age—might find an option acceptable to both sides that might not be a dead end option.

[Telen] Who would take part in that referendum? Who would be entitled to take part?

[Gorbunovs] I have already said that it would be citizens of the Latvian Republic. I realize that to some extent this could be felt to be offensive to those taking part in the referendum. It seems to me that this is just the way we could adopt an optimal version of citizenship, or criteria for citizenship, rather than continuing with such political debates and all sorts of speculation concerning extreme options.

[Telen] Thank you.

[Skryabin] Mr. Chairman, would you permit me to try to pin down this question a little more. If I go back to what Lyudmila was saying, you used to be in favor of the zero option. That was your pre-election view. Today your position has changed. I understand the reasons for that change in general terms. What was the main reason that prompted you to change your position, to abandon the zero option?

[Gorbunovs] I have already told you that, as I see it, in the present political situation both options are dead end options. I do not believe politics should be conducted in a manner which declines to seek ways out of deadlock. Of course I do not deny that when I was elected chairman of the Supreme Council I did indeed hold such an opinion. Supreme Council deputies can question me at any time about that or question my tenure in that office. Now I hold what is actually a more centrist view under these specific conditions.

[Skryabin] I see. Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Talen] Mr. Chairman, revision of borders is an issue between Latvia and Russia. I am referring to Latvia's claim to Pytalovskiy Rayon of Pskov Oblast. The Latvian parliament adopted a decision on this. I do not wish to discuss the actual susbject of the dispute, but I would like you to address the general principle of borders. What is your personal attitude on the possibility of revising postwar borders in Europe? Do you regard this as possible and permissible even if it bypasses international agreements?

[Gorbunovs] Perhaps I should give you my views on Pytalovo, or Abrene as we call it. I will say what I think

about our parliament's decision and then talk very briefly about the essence of the question. The borders between Latvia and Russia were defined in the treaty of 1920. No other documents of this kind regulated the border in any other way. This was reflected in the constitution of the Latvian Republic. However, these borders were revised in 1940 at the request of the working people. At that time everything was done that way. Several volosts were transferred to the Russian Federation. The Latvian parliament expressed its attitude on the legality of this decision made by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], as it was known then, and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As far as the Latvian SSR was concerned, not only was this decision adopted without any discussion, but so-called round-robin method was actually used. The Presidium did not even meet to discuss the question. The parliament simply expressed its view of these decisions, judging them to be illegal.

As far as the specific question is concerned, it seems to me that this is a matter for interstate talks. It cannot be settled any other way. It is also a question for the residents themselves, the people who live in this rayon. Whatever happens, the question of property will remain, because we are indeed returning legal property to all citizens of the Republic of Latvia. The question will arise in the course of this and will have to be resolved.

[Telen] Aren't you afraid that the resolution of this question or its inclusion on the agenda might trigger a chain reaction to the solution of other territorial disputes on the territory of the former USSR among the sovereign states that have now been formed?

[Gorbunovs] I agree with you entirely. If the question is evaded, if it is not settled, this will not be the best way of resolving the problem. If that happens, the problem will merely develop in one direction or the other. The outcome could then be very sad. That is sometimes the case. I do not believe that the question of Abrene, or Pytalovo, is so complex that it could complicate future relations between the Russian Federation of Latvia.

[Telen] Let's hope not. [passage omitted]

Mr. Chairman, Latvia is in the ruble zone. As far as I can see, it does not intend to bring in its own national currency, at least in the near future. That sets it apart from Lithuania and Estonia. Is this really the case or will Latvia also bring in its own national currency in the near future? If not, how does Latvia intend to develop its relations with Russia? I have in mind first and foremost financial relations. On what terms will it remain in the ruble zone?

[Gorbunovs] That is a very interesting and complex question which one could discuss at very great length, particularly this matter of our relations with Russia. [passage omitted]

As far as the ruble is concerned, we are in the ruble zone. It is very important that up to now we have lived without a budget deficit. What does it mean to live without a deficit? It means living with very great difficulty. We have no other option, for we do not have our own money. We cannot allow inflation to develop because we simply would not be able to get the requisite quantity of money from anywhere. That is the way we have been living.

What does the future hold? We have recently had a minimum salary of somewhere around 600 rubles. Of course, everything is going up. Prices are rising. As I hear from the congress proceedings in Russia and in our country, too, the minimum salary is going to be 1,000 rubles. This also applies to minimum pensions. We are going to need the requisite quantity of money. Given that we remain in the ruble zone, we are asking for this quantity of money from the Russian Bank. It is confined entirely to the scale of our budget. We are not opting for a deficit because a deficit would mean inflation.

Second, this is only with regard to our reciprocal trade and deliveries; in other words, it is not at the expense of some kind of negative balance. In remaining inside the ruble zone we are not creating inflation for the ruble. I am told that relations with the Russian Bank are very businesslike, but if we do not succeed in getting this quantity of rubles, we will have to take our own additional internal credit and settlement actions on top of the ones we have now while staying in the ruble zone. We do not need very much, just a top-up of around 300 to 500 million rubles. Of course, we will also need something for credit resources.

As for the future, Latvia, Russia and other independent states will have their own currencies. In the present transitional period, however, there are various factors connected with bringing in our own currency. First of all, prices have not yet been structured in line with world prices, although we are now conducting trade with Russia at world price levels and on the basis of dollar accounting, with a coefficient vis-a-vis the ruble. Nevertheless, there is not any need at the moment to bring in our own currency if we maintain the situation as it is now, but it will be very difficult to maintain it.

Lithuania

Ministers Express Disagreement With Vagnorius

LD2104132192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] We have just received information from the Baltic News Service. Nine ministers of the Lithuanian Government and Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila on Tuesday [21 April] submitted to the head of the Republican parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, a statement consisting of two points.

First, the ministers proposed that the session of the Supreme Council examine the different functions and responsibilities of the ministers and the prime minister. Second, calling on the prime minister for cooperation, the ministers at the same time warned about their intention to raise the question of the possibility of joint work with Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius.

The statement was signed by the Zigmas Vaisvila, Lithuanian deputy prime minister; Audrius Butkevicius, minister of national defense; Algirdas Saudargas, minister of foreign affairs; Juozas Oleka, minister of health; Algimantas Nasvytis, minister of construction; Darius Kuolys, minister of culture and education; Leonas Asmantas, minister of power engineering; Jonas Birziskis, minister of transportation; Aleksandras Abisala, minister without portfolio; and Jonas Klimas, minister of forestry.

Local observers note that the statement may be regarded as the disagreement of the ministers with the policy of Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius, as a refusal to continue to work with him.

Previously, resignations have been tended by Deputy Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalniskis, Minister of Finance Elvyra Kuneviciene, and Government Secretary Kestutis Cilinskas. The other deputy prime minister, Algirdas Dobrovolskas, has also announced his intention to resign.

Vagnorius Resignation Rumored

OW2104193992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1827 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] Baltfax reports referring to well-informed sources in Vilnius that nine government ministers, including Vice-Premier Zigmas Vaisvila, have handed in a statement to parliament chairman Vytautas Landsbergis. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian journalists believe the ministers' ultimatum means their refusal to support Vagnorius's policy and be members of his government. One suggestion is that their discontent was mainly caused by the decision to replace some 30-50% of the civil service taken at Vagnorius's insistence. It has also been suggested that the government crisis has reached its peak, and that Vagnorius's resignation is its most probable outcome in view of his unpopularity in the parliament and friction between him and Landsbergis.

IF's note: Earlier on letters of resignation had been handed in by Vice-Premier Vytautas Pakalniskis, Finance Minister Elvyra Kuneviciene, and government secretary Kestutis Cilinskas. Another vice-premier, Algirdas Dobravolskas, said he was also going to resign.

Ministers Comment on Statement

LD2204011692 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Excerpts] According to what we learned today from well-informed sources, ten government members presented a declaration on Tuesday to Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis in which they raised problems concerning their work within the government.

According to the sources, the authors of the declaration asked that the question be raised and answered at a session of the Supreme Council as to what the ministers are responsible for and what the prime minister is responsible for. [passage omitted]

Today the government members who signed the statement commented to the media on the reasons behind the need for such a statement.

Minister of Power Engineering Leonas Asmantas told Lithuanian radio that the statement does not indicate a government crisis but a prime ministerial crisis. According to Asmantas, the conflict is not new and has mostly arisen because government documents are being adopted singlehandedly and because the prime minister's work style is dictatorial—he meddles in everyone's work. Asmantas recalled that certain decrees by the minister of power engineering concerning this winter's energy plan had been presented to the public by the prime minister as acts of sabotage. Meanwhile, Asmantas stated, municipal authorities recently thanked the Power Engineering Ministry for a successful winter.

Forestry Economy Minister Jonas Klimas told Vilnius radio that the statement essentially deals with the question of work style, and the ministers are determined to work as they have done so previously. According to the minister, there is no real conflict in comparison with the much more important matters as, for instance, what is taking place in the countryside. The forestry minister observed that the views among government members clearly differed a week ago at a closed government meeting when a government decree regarding mass ministerial and department staff changes was discussed. By the way, the Supreme Council today conclusively blocked that decree. Minister Jonas Klimas noted that this decree had not been discussed and had not been approved by the government. In his opinion it should have been announced in the prime minister's name and not the government's name.

In the opinion of Klimas, Prime Minister Vagnorius most probably sensed there might be a statement issued by government members because it had been stated with sufficient openness at the closed government meeting that the majority of ministers did not approve of such methods. At the same time, Klimas noted that ministers bear no ill will toward Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius—he is a talented individual and a true leader. However, he should organize the work of the government in a fitting manner.

Minister Without Portfolio Aleksandras Abisala told Vilnius radio that the ministers' statement did not indicate a government crisis.

Minister of Health Protection Juozas Olekas observed to Vilnius radio that the statement concerning Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius had been signed by ministers of various political views in order to stabilize the situation and to work unanimously. According to him, the situation is being destabilized by such governmental decrees, as already mentioned, regarding changing a third or a half of the ministerial and department staff members. According to Olekas, the Supreme Council could not have done anything but to stop that decree since, legally speaking, it was seriously flawed.

Deputy Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalniskis, who last week expressed his intention to resign, asserted in an interview with Lithuanian television that the statement by the ten government members did not come about without some influence by the Supreme Council and some attempts to weaken the prime minister's and executive authority's power to implement reforms. [passage omitted]

Decree on Government Staff Reduction Abolished

LD2204075192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Excerpt] Today the deputies decided at the Supreme Council session to abolish Lithuanian Government Decree Number 363 and another decree, which explains the previous decree, Number 378. I will remind you that these decrees concern the reduction of staff in the ministries and departments by 30-50 percent. Thus, the officials may calm down since the decree has been abolished.

Landsbergis Notes Relations Changes With Russia

LD2204074392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] In a television interview on 19 April, Vytautas Landsbergis asserted that some positive changes were present in relations with Russia. He noted that he recently exchanged letters with the Russian president and although the Russian president is unable to come to Lithuania as he intended, "we continue to await him in the future," noted Vytautas Landsbergis. He announced that Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, special representative of President Yeltsin and first deputy foreign affairs minister, is to arrive in Vilnius on 27 April. As already reported, he will exchange the ratification documents of the Lithuanian-Russian Treaty signed last year. According to Vytautas Landsbergis, "the exchange of letters and the anticipated visit constitute good, positive steps forward."